

VERSES OF GHADIR

*A Search Regarding the Holy Prophet's
Sermons on the Farewell Hajj and an
Exegesis of the Qur'ānic Verses
Indicating the Incident of Ghadīr
Khum*



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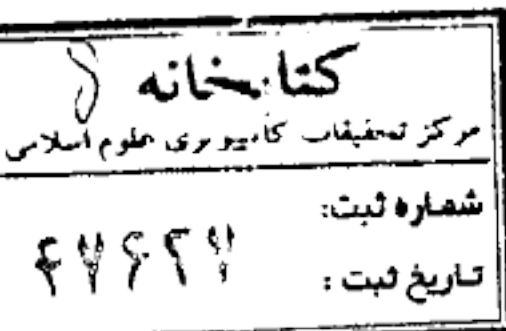
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IN THE NAME OF ALLAH
THE BENEFICENT THE MERCIFUL



مرکز تحقیقات کامپیوتر علوم اسلامی

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INTRODUCTION

In the Name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful

All Praise belongs to Allāh alone, and honorable and perfect blessings be upon Muḥammad and his infallible, immaculate Progeny.

Unfortunately, scholars have not regarded adequately three questions concerning the Prophets' missions. The first question is the conveyance of the Lord's message being the original mission of the Prophets. This point is in fact the pivot on which the Prophets' missions and actions are grounded, and is purposed for substantiating the Lord's claim on His servants. A Prophet is then a conveyor of an epistle; he fears the Lord and works for evading His ire and torment in case he violates the instructions. For this reason, the Prophets were wont to call people to witness on the perfection of their conveyance. In addition, they are not asked to enforce people to admit and accept their promulgations and, similarly, not admitted to submit people to their missions.

As a second rule, coercion in matters of the divine religion is rejected. It is obligatory to preserve people's freedom of believing or refutation. They are, likewise, free to commit themselves to the religion or to deviate. This is the very meaning of opening the school of life in this world and testing people in guidance or deviation by giving them the ability to do good and evil, and the result will be declared on another stage and in another world. Drawing people to the religion by force is contrary to the principles of this divine test as well as to the freedom of choice.

The second question is the Prophets' goals being to minister to the grand issues of people and societies. A messenger of Allāh

is compared to an engineer specialized in the construction of cultures, societies and history. The Prophets' missions should thus be looked upon from these angles. A scholar must ask himself how people's cultures and history should have been if a certain Prophet had not been given the Divine Mission, and what changes had been made when that Prophet conveyed the Lord's Message. In other words, we should wonder how paganism would have looked like nowadays if Prophet Abraham had not been chosen for conveying the Divine Mission or if he had not established the principles of monotheism. We should also wonder what the situation in the Arab lands in particular and the whole world in general would have been if Prophet Muḥammad (a.s)¹ had not been chosen for the Divine Mission and what would have occurred had he not perfected the belief of monotheism giving it its current form.

The Holy Prophet's mission was to establish a nation and to lead it to occupy an advanced, if not pioneer, position amongst other nations, and this formation has been proved the best in content and structure. It is undeniable that the Holy Prophet was keen on giving the leadership of the ummah² to his Ahl al-Bayt³ as they have been the choice of Allāh Who purified them

¹ For maintaining readability, (a.s) which is an acronym for "ʿAlayhi'l-Salām" is used throughout the book to denote "May Almighty Allāh bless him, her or them." When used for the Holy Prophet, his Household is included. When used for others, it only refers to that person.

² Ummah is the Islāmic Nation—the Muslim's community founded by Prophet Muḥammad, comprising individuals bound to one another predominantly by religious ties.

³ The Ahl al-Bayt (People of the House) is a term dedicated to the family of the Holy Prophet. More precisely, it is dedicated to definite individuals; namely, Imām ʿAlī ibn Abī-Ṭālib, Fāṭimah al-Zahrāʾ (the Holy Prophet's daughter and Imām ʿAlī's wife), al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī, and al-Ḥusayn ibn ʿAlī. The nine Immaculate Imāms (namely, ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Sajjād, Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Bāqir, Jaʿfar ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq, Mūsā ibn Jaʿfar al-Kāzim, ʿAlī ibn Mūsā al-Riḍā, Muḥammad ibn ʿAlī al-Jawād, ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad al-Hādī, al-Ḥasan ibn ʿAlī al-ʿAskarī, and al-Mahdi the Awaited) are also within the Ahl al-Bayt.

thoroughly¹ and gave them His Book in heritage exclusively.² If people reject the Ahl al-Bayt's divinely commissioned Imāmate,³ it will then make no difference for anyone to hold it, in order that Allāh might bring about a matter that was to be done, which is the advent of the Concealed Imām (al-Mahdi the Expected).

The third question is that the Holy Prophet's personality is indisputably present and effective, yet limited and minute, in the process of the conveyance. None can deny the fact that the Holy Prophet was intelligent, genius, worthy of leadership and free to act as well as divinely selected, though his own identity is restricted during the promulgation of the Mission. What is meant by identity is not the opposite of mechanism, since the Holy Prophet's obedience to what was revealed to him was the result of perfect satisfaction, faith and observance.

The area in which the Holy Prophet was allowed to practice his personal inference formed a narrow point in proportion to the large area of his practices.

Hence, he was just like an engineer whose manager binds him with giving effects to a large project. This engineer is satisfied that he should contact his manager frequently so as to evade any mistake and, meanwhile, he works, thinks and carries on working; still he contacts the center so that he receives the strategies and consults saving from problems. This example is, however, a highly microscopic view of the Holy Prophet's mission.

¹ This is an indication to Allāh's saying in the Holy Qur'ān (Sūrah of al-Aḥzāb 33:33): "Allāh only desires to keep away the uncleanness from you, O people of the House! and to purify you a (thorough) purifying."

² This is an indication to Allāh's saying in the Holy Qur'ān (Sūrah of Fāṭir 35:32): "Then We gave the Book for an inheritance to those whom We chose from among Our servants."

³ Imāmate is the succession of the Holy Prophet.

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Regarding the Center of the Holy Prophet, Almighty Allāh is unparalleled in entity and deeds. Depending upon the previous, any study of the Holy Prophet's life account should regard three matters; (1) the Holy Prophet's mission was to carry what was revealed to him, (2) his task was to build a nation and help it find its way in history and, (3) he ought to follow the Lord's instructions in each and every action. A deep look at the Holy Prophet's life proves the three aforementioned points. Almighty Allāh has obviously managed the Holy Prophet's affairs from start to finish, and the Holy Prophet obeyed his Lord's instructions submissively. Therefore, the results of his deeds achieved an extraordinary attainment that exceeded all the intellectualities and senses of sociologists.

The Holy Prophet created an international, civilized and ideological extension in a relative period with the least material and humane casualties. Despite the truculence of the Holy Prophet's foes that waged fierce wars against him, the casualties of both sides did not attain two thousand victims, since it was the Lord who supervised the Holy Prophet's management.

The Holy Qur'ān was uninterruptedly revealed to the Holy Prophet since the first day of his Mission up to a few days before his decease. Archangel Gabriel visited him frequently with Qur'ānic Verses, revelation, instructions, directives, answers and like things. There are innumerable examples on the Divine presence and intervention to save a situation in the life of the Holy Prophet proving that he would not have behaved personally except when he applied the general lines and carried on the detailed commandments drawn by the Divine Revelation. On many occasions, the Holy Prophet, having waited for the Revelation, would not act personally. He is reported to have said, 'I have been given the Book and its like.'¹

¹ Al-Faḍl ibn Shādhān: *Al-Īdāh* 215.

'Its like' stands for the instructions carried by Archangel Gabriel that later on took the form of Ḥadīth.¹ This means that his traditions were also revealed to him, just like the Holy Qur'ān.² Besides, these instructions included his personal affairs such as marriage, divorce, dress, eating, sleeping, ablution and even brushing the teeth. The Holy Prophet's endowment, detriment, cherishing, malice, residence, touring, satisfaction and rage; all were determined by revealed instructions.

Imām al-Ṣādiq (a.s) told the story of an atheist who disputed, belied, harmed and threatened the Holy Prophet face to face. The Holy Prophet became so angry that the vein of ire was clearly seen between his eyes. As he nodded his head down, Archangel Gabriel came to him and revealed, 'Your Lord asked me to carry His compliments to you and to inform you that the man in front of you is generous and he used to serve food to people.' At once, the Holy Prophet's anger vanished; he spoke to the man, 'I would have banished you and made you an example had not Archangel Gabriel came to me and told, on behalf of my Lord, that you have been generous as you used to serve people with food.' 'Does your Lord favor generosity?' asked the man. 'Yes, He does,' answered the Holy Prophet. 'I now declare that there is no god but Allāh and that you are the Messenger of Allāh. I swear by Him Who sends you with the truth, I have never rejected a beggar's request,' declared the man.³

One day, a man asked Imām al-Bāqir (a.s) whether the Holy Prophet's nomination of Imām `Alī as his successor and the Muslims' next leader had been a personal conduct or a divine directive. 'Woe is you!' Imām al-Bāqir said angrily, 'The Holy Prophet was too reverent to say what Allāh did not order him to

¹ Ḥadīth is the body of traditions concerning the sayings and doings of the Holy Prophet, considered to be second in authority to the Holy Qur'ān.

² *Sunan al-Dārimi*; 1/145

³ *Al-Kulaynī: al-Kāfi* 4/29.

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say. Like the prayers, zakāt,¹ fasting and Ḥajj,² the Holy Prophet's nominating Imām 'Alī for his vicegerency was a divine order.'³

The Holy Prophet's Succession Being a Simple Theme

The question of holding the Holy Prophet's position after his decease is simple, not complicated. The Ahl al-Bayt and their Shī'ah -followers- claim the Holy Prophet's nominating Imām 'Alī as Muslims' next leader and it is thus unacceptable for people of Quraysh,⁴ or any others, to choose anyone else since the Holy Prophet's nomination was only the conveyance of the Lord's instruction. People of Quraysh, unfortunately, denied this nomination a few hours after the Holy Prophet's demise⁵ claiming that the Holy Prophet's 'authority' should be distributed among the twenty-three clans of Quraysh. Therefore, they selected Abū-Bakr who belonged to the Qurayshite clan of Taym ibn Murrah for the leadership. This man nominated 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb who belonged to the Qurayshite clan of 'Adī as his successor. By the so-called Shūrā (the Advisory Council), 'Umar nominated another Qurayshite man who belonged to the clan of Umayyah ibn 'Abd-Shams, namely 'Uthmān ibn 'Affān, as his successor.

¹ Zakāt is the obligatory payment made annually under Islāmic law on certain kinds of property and used for charitable and religious objects.

² Ḥajj is the pilgrimage to the Sacred Mosque at Makkah undertaken in the twelfth month of the Muslim year and constituting one of the religious duties of Islām.

³ Al-Kulaynī: *al-Kāfi* 1/298.

⁴ Quraysh is the name of the tribe that inhabited Makkah in the time of the Holy Prophet and to which he belonged. Quraysh, yet, was the name of one of the Holy Prophet's forefathers.

⁵ In fact, people of Quraysh denied the whole matter and claimed that the Holy Prophet had never nominated or elected anyone for vicegerency.

They neither elected any of Anṣār,¹ because they were not from Quraysh and thus had no right in the authority of the Qurayshite Prophet, nor any of the Hāshimites² though they were the worthiest of this position, because they were, in the view of the conspirators against the leadership of Islām, just like the other Qurayshite clans most of whom did not want for the Hāshimites to win the position of leadership after they had won the 'position of prophethood'!

Thus, the matter is very simple; did the Holy Prophet nominate a successor or not? Nevertheless, it is very complicated that people of Quraysh and their fans do not want to discuss because it demolishes their structure and legality. Furthermore, they have warned all people not to discuss this matter claiming its being arduous, complicated and even ḥarām³ to be discussed!

The Verses of Ghadīr⁴ are only a part of the Qur'ānic texts that declared Imām 'Alī and the Ahl al-Bayt as the divinely commissioned leaders of the ummah. Late and current Sunni and Shiite authors and exegetes have been authoring books discussing the Verses and Hadiths about the Ahl al-Bayt and their roles in the ummah. In this regard, let us refer to two well-known and available references:

¹ Anṣār is a title said to the people of Yathrib, later on al-Madīnah (al-Munawwarah), who supported and received the Holy Prophet and his followers after they had immigrated from Makkah.

² Hāshimites are the sons and descendants of Hāshim ibn 'Abd-Manāf, the second grandfather of the Holy Prophet and the Hāshimites are thus the uncles, cousins, and descendants of the Holy Prophet.

³ Illegal according to the Islāmic doctrine.

⁴ Ghadīr -or Ghadīr Khumm- is a place between Makkah and Medina where the Holy Prophet declared Imām 'Alī as the next leader of the ummah and made it incumbent on Muslims of all generations to obey this leadership and consider it as a divine directive. See Muḥammad Bāqir Anṣārī: *What Happened in Ghadīr*, translated by Badr Shahin, Mowlood Kaaba Publications, Qum – Iran, 2000.

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- (1) Al-Ḥāfiẓ Abū-Na`im al-Iṣfahānī: *Mā Nazala fī `Alī Min al-Qur`ān* (Qur`ānic Verses respecting `Alī)
- (2) Al-Nassā`ī: *Khaṣā`iṣ Amīr al-Mu`minīn `Alī* (Peculiarities of `Alī Amīr al-Mu`minīn).¹

The three Verses of Ghadīr:

يَأْتِيهَا الرَّسُولُ بَلِّغْ مَا أُنزِلَ إِلَيْكَ مِنْ رَبِّكَ وَإِنْ لَمْ تَفْعَلْ فَمَا بَلَّغْتَ
رِسَالَتَهُ وَاللَّهُ يَعْصِمُكَ مِنَ النَّاسِ إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يَهْدِي الْقَوْمَ الْكَافِرِينَ ﴿٦٧﴾

“O Messenger! Deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord; and if you do it not, then you have not delivered His message, and Allāh will protect you from the people; surely Allāh will not guide the unbelieving people.” [Sūrah of al-Mā`idah 5:67]

الْيَوْمَ أَكْمَلْتُ لَكُمْ دِينَكُمْ وَأَتَمَمْتُ عَلَيْكُمْ نِعْمَتِي وَرَضِيْتُ لَكُمْ الْإِسْلَامَ دِينًا

“This day have I perfected for you your religion and completed My favor on you and chosen for you Islām as a religion.” [Sūrah of al-Mā`idah 5:3]

سَأَلَ سَائِلٌ بِعَذَابٍ وَاقِعٍ ﴿٧٠﴾

“One demanding, demanded the chastisement which must befall.” [Sūrah of al-Ma`ārij 70:1]

Throughout our discussions of these three Verses of Ghadir, we will attract attentions to their firm relation to the Holy Prophet’s sermons during the Farewell Ḥajj.² It hence seems

¹ Al-Ṭabarī has also compiled a book, in two volumes, in this regard entitled *al-Wilāyah* (The Vicegerency). Unfortunately, this book has not been printed yet.

² The Farewell Ḥajj is the final ritual collective pilgrimage led by the Holy Prophet.

necessary to discuss these six sermons as well, since they contain the Holy Prophet's instructing his people to follow the two weighty (precious) things—the Qur'ān and the Ahl al-Bayt.¹ He also carried the good tidings to his people, in the Sermon of 'Arafāt, that Almighty Allāh has solved the question of the vicegerency and has thus chosen the twelve divinely commissioned Imāms. Moreover, it seems essential to discuss the relationship between the Holy Prophet and the Qurayshite chiefs pertaining to the leadership of the Ahl al-Bayt.

We hope these would be useful discussions by which Almighty Allāh may reward us in the Hereafter and include us with the intercession (*Shafā'ah*) of Muḥammad and his immaculate progeny, peace be upon them all.

Al-Mustafa Center for Islāmic Researches



13 / Rajab / 1419 A.H

مرکز تحقیقات کتب و علوم اسلامی

¹ This is an indication to the Holy Prophet's famous statement: "I am leaving among you that which will save you from deviation forever if you only adhere to: the Book of Allāh and my progeny—my household. Have I conveyed (to you this matter)?" Al-Ya`qūbi: *al-Tārīkh* (Book of History) 2/92.



مرکز تحقیقات کامپیوتر علوم اسلامی

THE THREE VERSES OF GHADĪR

Almighty Allāh has instructed the Holy Prophet to guide his people to the rites of the ritual Ḥajj after he had guided them to the ritual prayer, fasting and zakāt. That was just before starting the Farewell Ḥajj. He, the Exalted, also instructed his Prophet to show them publicly the next leader. Throughout the history of humankind, the Almighty did the same thing with all of His Prophets who had departed this world only after they had perfected the religion and delivered the divine Mission to their nominated heirs whom they must have designated publicly.

The Holy Prophet carried the Lord's instruction when he summoned people to participate in that final Ḥajj so that he would teach them the rites and would nominate Imām 'Alī as his vicegerent and people's leader. Nevertheless, he anticipated that people of Quraysh would object to such a nomination for they had already born envy and malice to the Hāshimites. He also expected that they would criticize his divine prophethood and accuse him of establishing a monarchy for his household similar to these of Khosrow (king of Persia) or Caesar (king of the Romans). If that happened, it would create a movement of apostasy among Muslims. At any rate, the Holy Prophet performed the Farewell Ḥajj and addressed five sermons in Makkah, 'Arafāt and Minā in which he guided people to the rites and regulations of the religion, foretold about the coming Twelve Imāms out of his progeny and emphasized that people would not be saved against deviation unless they would hold fast to the two weighty things; the Qur'ān and the Ahl al-Bayt. He also warned against the devious leaders and against [some of] his companions who would avert and, as a result, the Lord should deprive them of joining the Holy Prophet at the Divine Pool on the Resurrection Day.

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Because of people of Quraysh's irritable situation, the Holy Prophet did not emphasize on the coming leadership of his progeny officially. He tried to pass up ordering them to pay homage to 'Alī during the ceremonies of the Farewell Ḥajj.

During the journey back to al-Madīnah, Archangel Gabriel carried to the Holy Prophet Almighty Allāh's saying, "O Messenger! Deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord; and if you do it not, then you have not delivered His message, and Allāh will protect you from the people; surely Allāh will not guide the unbelieving people. 5/67"

Immediately, the Holy Prophet ordered the caravans to halt at Ghadīr Khumm and delivered the Lord's message. He raised 'Alī to the minbarlike height made of saddles, took him up from the arm and declared him as the next leader. He also ordered to establish a tent in which 'Alī would sit and Muslims would congratulate him on this leading position. The attendant Muslims offered congratulations and paid him homage. On that occasion, Almighty Allāh revealed, "This day have I perfected for you your religion and completed My favor on you and chosen for you Islām as a religion. 5/3" That was on the eighteenth of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah.

Before and after his arrival at al-Madīnah, people of Quraysh and the hypocrites started their activities against the Holy Prophet. All of their plots were foiled by the Lord Who protected His Messenger against any movement of mutiny or apostasy during his lifetime. Various means were used for this purpose. One of these was the heavenly chastisement inflicted upon those who objected and protested against him. Jābir ibn al-Naḍr ibn al-Ḥārith al-'Abdarī whose father was the chief of the [tribe of] 'Abd al-Dār and the commander of the polytheists' army against Muslims during the Battle of Badr was one of those objectors:

Abū-'Ubayd al-Harawī, in *Gharīb al-Qur'ān*, records the following:

After the Holy Prophet's conveyance of the Lord's commission in Ghadīr Khumm had been widely known, al-Hārith ibn al-Nu'mān al-Fihri (or Jābir ibn al-Nadr ibn al-Hārith ibn Kildah al-'Abdarī, according to Abū-'Ubayd's report) came to the Holy Prophet and said, "O Muḥammad! You have ordered us, on behalf of Allāh, to declare that there is no god but Allāh and that Muḥammad being the Messenger of Allāh, perform the prayers, observe fasting in the month of Ramaḍān, undertake the [obligatory] Ḥajj and defray the zakāt; and we have admitted. Nevertheless, all these have not sufficed you until you raised your cousin from the arm and preceded him to us saying, 'Alī will now be the master of him whosever master was me.' Is this your own directive or is it due to Allāh's?" The Holy Prophet answered, "By Allāh there is no god but Whom I take the oath, it is surely Almighty Allāh's directive." Jābir turned his face towards his riding animal saying, "O Allāh! If Muḥammad's words are true, then rain us with a heavenly stone or inflict a painful chastisement upon us." Before Jābir could reach his animal, the Lord rained him with a stone that fell on the head and went out from the anus. Hence, he was killed and, consequently, Allāh revealed, 'One demanding, demanded the chastisement which must befall. 70/1-2'

Despite the fact that a good number of Sunni reference books of *Tafsīr* and *Ḥadīth* have adopted the same exegeses of the three Verses revealed for the event of Ghadīr Khumm, others have adopted other opinions most of which are contradictory.

The following discussions are introduced as preliminary introductions to the exegesis of the three Verses of Ghadīr.

(1) THE HOLY PROPHET'S SUCCESSION WAS RAISED DURING HIS LIFETIME

Clear evidences and logic prove that the Holy Prophet raised the question of his succession since the first stages of his Divine Mission until the last sparks of his life. This point was

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also acceptable and normal, yet it stands out against Sunni reference books claiming that he did not nominate any for his succession and that Muslims never discussed or put forth such an idea before him. Anyhow, numerous Ḥadīths have shown that the Holy Prophet referred to the Imāmate of the Ahl al-Bayt. Let us refer to some of these evidences:

FIRST EVIDENCE

Many texts bear out that the Holy Prophet invited the tribes to the new religion at the beginning of his Divine Mission and asked them to protect him during the promulgation of his Lord's epistle. Some of these tribes accepted this invitation provided that they would have the leadership after him. The Holy Prophet's answer was that he was no more than a messenger who had no choice in the affair for which they were asking. It was Almighty Allāh only Who may nominate anyone He desires. The most evident points in this regard are the story of the tribe of 'Āmir ibn Ṣa'ṣa'ah and that of the tribe of Kindah both of which had occurred on the first days of the Holy Prophet's promulgation, while the story of 'Āmir ibn al-Ṭufayl occurred on the last days of the Holy Prophet's lifetime.

Story of the Tribe of 'Āmir Ibn Ṣa'ṣa'ah

The following is quoted from Ibn Hushām, *al-Sīrah* 2/289:

The Holy Prophet came to the [tribe of] 'Āmir ibn Ṣa'ṣa'ah and invited them to the "new" religion. A man called Baiḥarah ibn Firās addressed to him, 'By Allāh I swear, I will overcome the Arabs if I only assent to this Qurayshite young man. If we will support you in this matter and Allāh will give you victory over your opponents, will you hold us your position thereafter?' 'This matter is decided by Allāh only,' answered the Holy Prophet, 'He holds it to whomever He desires.' Hence, they rejected saying, 'We will make our necks the target of whatsoever is thrown at you and when Allāh gives you triumph it goes to others? Nay, we are not in need for you.' After they had returned from that season of Ḥajj,

they told a man who was too old to accompany them and to whom they used to refer all their affairs about the story of the Holy Prophet and their rejection to his call. The old man struck his head with both hands and shouted, 'Oh for the `Āmir! Can you catch him and change your situation? I swear by Him Who prevails on my soul, no single son of [Prophet] Ishmael can lie in this affair. It is the very truth. Where were your minds when you rejected his offer?'"¹

Story of the Tribe of Kindah

This is the story as quoted from Ibn Kathīr, *al-Sīrah* 2/159:

`Abdullāh ibn al-Ajlāh said that his father, relating the story of the tribe of Kindah to his chiefs, said: As the Holy Prophet sought the tribe of Kindah's support in the promulgation of his Mission, they stipulated that he should hold them the position of authority after his death. 'Authority is Allāh's,' he answered, 'He hands it over to whomever He desires.' Therefore, they rejected his request.

Story of the Tribe of `Āmir Ibn al-Ṭufayl

Ibn Kathīr, in *al-Sīrah* 4/114, records the following:

[`Abdullāh] Ibn `Abbās reported that Arbad ibn Qays ibn Juz` ibn Khālid ibn Ja`far ibn Kalāb and `Āmir ibn al-Ṭufayl ibn Mālik came to al-Madīnah and sat before the Holy Prophet asking, 'O Muḥammad! What will you give me if we accept Islām?' 'You will be given what Muslims are given and forbidden from what Muslims are forbidden,' answered the Holy Prophet. 'Will you hold me your position after you?' asked `Āmir. 'This position is

¹ Al-Ṭabarī, *Tārīkh* 2/84 and Ibn Kathīr, *al-Sīrah* 2/158. In *al-Ghadīr* 7/134, the story is related to Ibn Hushām, *al-Sīrah* 2/32, *al-Rawḍ al-Anīf* 1/264, Imād al-Dīn al-`Āmirī, *Bahjat al-Maḥāfil* 1/128, *al-Sīrah al-Ḥalabiyyah* 2/3, Zaynī Daḥlān: *al-Sīrah* 1/302 and Muḥammad Ḥasanayn Haykal, *Ḥayātu Muḥammad*.

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neither yours nor your people's. I may give you the commandments of the army,' said the Holy Prophet. 'I am now the commander of the armies of Najd. You may give me the leadership of the Bedouins exclusively,' `Āmir said, but the Holy Prophet rejected. 'I will fill in your area with horses and fighters,' `Āmir threatened as he went out. 'Allāh will protect against you,' commented the Holy Prophet.

SECOND EVIDENCE

The second evidence is that Anṣār paid homage to the Holy Prophet on three terms, (1) to protect him against anything they protect themselves against, (2) to protect his people and progeny as same as they protect their peoples and progenies and (3) not to contend on matters of leadership with the worthy, because Muslims are not given the right to choose personally for this position. In other words, they must comply with the one selected by the Lord for this position. The third term shows obviously that the principle of the divine selection of the Imāms following the Holy Prophet was admissibly settled since the first stages of the Mission. Anṣār however fulfilled the first term completely but unfortunately they breached the two others very badly. These three terms have been mentioned in the most reliable reference books of Ḥadīth. Let us refer to some of such narrations hereinafter:

Al-Bukhārī, in *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 8/122, records the following:

It has been narrated that `Abādah ibn al-Ṣāmit said: We paid homage to the Messenger of Allāh to listen to and obey him in good and bad conditions, not to contended with the worthy of leadership, to practice and say the truth wherever we are and to scorn any blame for sake of Allāh.¹

Al-Bukhārī, in 8/88, records:

¹ Also, Muslim: *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 6/16, al-Nassā'ī's *al-Sunan* 7/137, Ibn Mājah: *al-Sunan* 2/957, Ahmad: *al-Musnad* 5/316, Al-Bayhaqī: *al-Sunan* 8/145.

...The Holy Prophet asked us to pay homage, and we did. We submitted to his stipulations that we should listen and comply with him in auspicious and misfortunate situations, should prefer him to ourselves and should not contend for the leadership unless we see a notorious evidential atheism.¹

Aḥmad (ibn Ḥanbal), in *al-Musnad* 5/321, records the following:

‘Abādah ibn Al-Ṣāmit narrated that the Holy Prophet stated, “You should listen and obey in auspicious and misfortunate situations, prefer me to yourself and avoid contending against the people of leadership even if you conceive it as your right.”

These two additions are suspicious since homage occurred before the Holy Prophet’s immigration when there was no single exception from obedience. The question of the priority of people of Quraysh came to existence only after the compulsory declaration of loyalty to Abū-Bakr and the objection of Sa’d ibn ‘Abādah. This demonstrates that the two additions were the result of the new relationship between Anṣār and the Qurayshite leadership after the Holy Prophet’s decease. Moreover, no single narration refers to the Holy Prophet’s stipulating the term of avoiding contending against the people of leadership.

In *Majma’ al-Zawā’id* 6/49, the following is recorded:

‘Abādah ibn al-Ṣāmit narrated that As’ad ibn Zurārah shouted, “O people! Do you realize what you are giving Muḥammad? You are swearing that you will wage wars against the Arabs and the foreigners and the jinn and mankind.” However, Anṣār declared, “We are rivals of his foes and friends of his adherents.” Then they asked the Holy Prophet to speak out his stipulations. He spoke, “You should declare that there is no god but Allāh and that I be His messenger, and you should perform prayers,

¹ Also, al-Bayhaqī: *al-Sunan* 8/145.

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defray the zakāt, listen and obey, avoid contending against the people of leadership and protect me as same as you protect your souls and people.”

Ḥusayn ibn `Alī narrated that in al-`Aqabah, Anṣār came to pay homage to the Messenger of Allāh. `Alī was ordered to acknowledge their homage: “What should they swear for, Allāh’s messenger?” asked `Alī. The Holy Prophet instructed, “You should stipulate obedience to the Lord and protection of the Holy Prophet and his household and progeny as same as they protect their souls and progenies.”

The pro-Qurayshite books of Ḥadīth have concentrated on the point of avoiding contending against the people of leadership so as to use it as a proof on depriving Anṣār of positions of leadership. On the other hand, they have avoided recording the term of protecting the Holy Prophet, his household and progeny as same as they protect their souls, households and progenies since this stipulation disagrees with the benefits of the Qurayshite leaders who attacked and set fire on the house of Fātimah and `Alī because they had objected against the illegal leadership of Abū-Bakr.

THIRD EVIDENCE

The third evidence is the famous narration of ‘al-Dār.’ Reference books of Tafsīr and history refer to this narration as they pass through Allāh’s saying, ‘And warn your nearest relations. 26/214’

This holy verse indicates that the Lord ordered the Holy Prophet to invite the Hāshimites exclusively to the religion at the first stages of the Mission. So, what procedures did the Holy Prophet take in this stage? How long did this private

¹ An important topic is to be mentioned in this regard; historians and biographers have attempted to obscure the stage of inviting the Hashimites exclusively and, instead, they have invented the stages of pre-Arqam’s

invitation last? Was it a number of months or years, until a divine commandment of expanding the Mission was revealed? What was the purport of the divine commandment of dedicating Muḥammad's prophethood to the Hāshimites before it was extended to include people of Quraysh, the Arabs and all humankind? What was the purport of the Qurayshite's decision of laying siege to the Hāshimites who, after the enforcement of this decision, surrounded the Holy Prophet and tolerated that six-year siege? The Hashimites, despite their various classes of faithfulness, showed no weakness at all. What was the purport of the fact that except the Hāshimites, none could endure the misfortunes that Muslims had suffered?

During the Battle of Uḥud, all Muslims absconded, but the Hāshimite struggled alone.

During the Battle of al-Khandaq, no single Muslim had the courage to face the champion who had challenged them, except the Hāshimite hero—Imām 'Alī (a.s).

During the Battle of Hunayn, ten thousand Muslims absconded while the Hāshimites alone stood firm.

These facts and events suggest a satisfactory explanation for the Ḥadīths related in Shiite reference books quoting the Holy Prophet's saying, 'I have been sent to my household in private and to people in general.'

The aforementioned holy Verse points out that warning the Hāshimites was a matter outlined by the Lord. It also refers to the fact that the Holy Prophet's nominating his successor from among them was a step within that divine plan.

Al-Suyūṭī, in *al-Durr al-Manthūr* 5/97, records the following:

house and post-Arḡam's house, using doubtful and authentic, and irrational and reasonable reports.

... `Alī narrated that when the Verse, 'And warn your nearest relations,' was revealed, the Holy Prophet summoned me and said, '`Alī: Almighty Allāh ordered me to warn my nearest relations, but I was depressed since I had realized that they would answer me disgracefully whenever I would call them to this matter. Hence, I tried to evade it until Archangel Gabriel came and threatened my Lord's chastisement if I would not carry out. Now, I ask you to prepare some food on which you should cook a leg of a sheep and make us a skin of milk. Then, you should invite sons of `Abd al-Muṭṭalib so that I will speak to them and convey this mission.' I carried out the Holy Prophet's orders completely and invited sons of `Abd al-Muṭṭalib who were about forty men. Abū-Ṭālib, Ḥamzah, al-`Abbās and Abū-Lahab were also invited. As they all were present, the Holy Prophet asked me to serve them the food I had prepared. With his teeth, he incised that piece of meat, threw its parts on the edges of that trencher and said, 'Here you are, by the Name of Allāh.' They all ate to excess. By Allāh I swear, each one ate as much as I had cooked for them all. Then, the Holy Prophet asked me to serve them with that milk. They all drank from that skin. I swear by Allāh, each one drank full skin of milk. As soon as the Holy Prophet tried to speak, Abū-Lahab interrupted and said, 'See how your man cast witchcraft on you.' Therefore, they left before he could speak to them.

The next day, the Holy Prophet said to me, 'You saw how that man interrupted me. Today, you should prepare food as same as you did yesterday and invite them again.' I did the same and invited them, and they came, ate and drank. The Holy Prophet then spoke, 'O sons of `Abd al-Muṭṭalib! By Allāh, I do not know an Arab man who can bring to his people a matter better than what I am bearing to you. I am conveying to you the welfare of this world as well as the Hereafter. Almighty Allāh has ordered me to invite you to this matter. Who will support me in this affair?' I was the youngest among them when I shouted, 'I will,' but they began to laugh at me and left the place.

Relating the same report to another series of narrators, al-Suyūṭī says:

...Al-Barrā' ibn 'Āzib narrated that when the Verse, 'And warn your nearest relations' was revealed, the Holy Prophet invited sons of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib who were about forty men...etc.

Hence, al-Suyūṭī interrupts the report at this point so that he would not mention the rest of the Holy Prophet's words. This style is commonly followed by the pro-Qurayshite reporters as they refer to the Narration of al-Dār, which shows that the Lord and the Holy Prophet selected the successor from among the nearest clan since that day.

Al-Amīnī, in *al-Ghadīr* 1/207 records the following:

The following is a literal quotation of al-Ṭabarī's narration which distinguishes the right from the wrong. In *Tārīkh* 2/217 (first edition), he records: ... 'Who will support me in this regard and he will be my brother, successor and inheritor amongst you?' said the Holy Prophet. They all stopped talking when I, the youngest among them, said, 'I will, Prophet of Allāh! I will be your backer in this affair.' Hence, the Holy Prophet took me from the neck and stated, 'This is my brother, successor and inheritor. You should listen to and obey him.' They all went out laughing and saying to Abū-Ṭālib, 'Well, he orders you to listen to and obey your son.' [Al-Amīnī, *al-Ghadīr*; 2/279] In this very form, Abū-Ja'far al-Iskāfī, a Mu'tazilite¹ theologian who died in 240, records the same report in *Naqḍ al-'Uthmāniyyah* confirming its authenticity: It is also recorded in Burhān al-Dīn's *Anbā' Nujabā' al-Abnā'* 46-8, Ibn al-Athīr's *al-Kāmil fī'l-Tārīkh* 2/24, Abu'l-Fidā 'Imād al-Dīn al-Dimashqī's *Tārīkh* 1/116, Shihāb al-Dīn al-Khafāji's *Sharḥ al-Shifā* 3/37

¹ Mu'tazilah (Arabic: Those Who Withdraw, or Stand Apart) is an Islāmic school of speculative theology that flourished in Baṣrah and Baghdad (8th-10th centuries AD).

(though he interrupts the last sentences of the narration and says: It is recorded in al-Bayhaqī's *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwah* and other reference books in authentic documentation), and Alā' al-Dīn al-Baghdādī's *Tafsīr al-Khāzin* 390, and al-Suyūṭī's *Jam' al-Jawāmi'* 6/392. On page 397, he also relates the narration to the six famous Ḥadīthists—Ibn Ishāq, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn Abū-Ḥātam, Ibn Mardawayh, Abū-Na'im and Al-Bayhaqī. Ibn Abī'l-Ḥadīd, in *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 3/254, records the same report.

Al-Amīnī then protests against those who have distorted this narration for sake of seeking the satisfaction of people of Quraysh. Though he records the narration in his *Tafsīr*, al-Ṭabarī, in *Tārīkh*, confuses the last words of the Holy Prophet regarding 'Alī (a.s): "... he then said, 'This is my brother...' and so on." Imitating al-Ṭabarī, Ibn Kathīr mentions the narration in the same form.

From the margin of *Bihār al-Anwār* 32/272, the following is quoted:

The bond of fraternity between 'Alī and the Holy Prophet—that was concluded according to a divine commandment in the beginning of Islām when Almighty Allāh revealed the Verse 'And warn your nearest relations'²—was fallen in a form of a covenant. The Holy Prophet would not betake a brother, representative, associate and successor other than 'Alī. Likewise, 'Alī would not show any blemish in supporting, backing and advising for the Holy Prophet and the religion. It is as same as Prophet Aaron's support to Prophet Moses mentioned in the Holy Qur'ān. When the Holy Prophet

¹ Ibn Kathīr *al-Bidāyah wa'l-Nihāyah* 3/40 and *Tafsīr* 3/351.

² See, for more details, al-Ṭabarī's *Tārīkh* 2/321, Ibn al-Athīr's *al-Kāmil fi al-Tārīkh* 2/24, Abu'l-Fidā's *Tārīkh* 1/116, Ibn Abū al-Ḥadīd *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 3/254, Aḥmad's *al-Musnad* 1/159, *Jāmi' al-Jawāmi'* 6/408, and *Kanz al-'Ummāl* 6/401.

held bonds of fraternity between each couple of his companions, he took in consideration the relationship linking each two. He fraternized `Umar and Abū-Bakr, `Uthmān and `Abd al-Raḥmān ibn `Awf, al-Zubayr and `Abdullāh ibn Mas`ūd, `Ubaydah ibn al-Ḥārith and Bilāl, Muṣ`ab ibn `Umayr and Sa`d ibn Abū-Waqqāṣ, Abū-`Ubaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ and Sālim the slave of Abū-Ḥudhayfah and Ḥamzah ibn `Abd al-Muṭṭalib and Zayd ibn Ḥārithah al-Kalbī.¹ At these moments, he said to `Alī, "I swear by Him Who has sent me with the truth that I delayed you so that you will be dedicated to me. For me, your standing is as same as Aaron's to Moses is. Yet, no Prophet will come after me. You are my brother and successor. You will be with me in my palace in Paradise. If any disputes you, say: I am the servant of Allāh and the brother of His Messenger. Except fabricators and liars, none should claim it after you."²

Likewise, when the Holy Prophet invited the tribes to accept his Mission, none admitted him except the tribe of `Āmir ibn Ṣa`ṣa`ah. Their spokesman, Bayḥarā, stated, 'By Allāh I swear, I will overcome the Arabs if I assent to this Qurayshite young man. Providing we will pay homage to you in this matter and Allāh will give you victory over your opponents, will you hold us your position thereafter?' The Holy Prophet answered, 'This is Allāh's affair. He holds it to whomever He desires.' 'We will make our necks the target of whatever is thrown at you and when Allāh gives you triumph it goes to others? Nay, we are not in need for your promulgation,' they answered.³

As a result, supposing the Holy Prophet had not concluded that bond of fraternity and inheritance with

¹ Ibn Hushām's *al-Sīrah* 1/504, *al-Muḥabbar* 70-1 and Al-Balādhiri's *al-Sunan* 1/270.

² *Al-Riyāḍ al-Naḍīrah* 2/168 and *Kanz al-'Ummāl* 5/45-6.

³ Ibn Hushām's *al-Sīrah* 1/424, *al-Rawḍ al-Anīf* 1/264, *Bahjat al-Maḥāfil* 1/128, Zaynī Daḥlān's 1/302 and *al-Sīrah al-Ḥalabīyyah*; 2/3.

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'Alī according to a divine commandment, he would not have wasted this opportunity and refuted them in such despairing words while he was in urgent need for the support of such tribes.

Al-Nu'mān al-Maghribī, in *Da'ā'im al-Islām* 1/15, writes down the following:

We have already recorded the following narration of 'Alī: When Almighty Allāh revealed the Verse (And warn your nearest relations), the Holy Prophet invited sons of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib to a leg of a sheep and a cup of milk. They were more than forty men. Among them, there were at least ten men who used to have a whole slaughtered animal and drink a large pot of drink. They ate and drank to excess. After that, the Holy Prophet spoke, 'O sons of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib! Comply with me and you will be kings and rulers of the lands. The Lord selected a successor, vicegerent, inheritor, brother and supporter for each Prophet that He sent. Which one of you should be my successor, vicegerent, inheritor, brother and supporter?' They all stopped talking. He passed by them individually, but they all rejected. I was the youngest among them when I answered him, 'It is I, Allāh's messenger!' 'Yes, it is you, 'Alī!' answered the Holy Prophet. When they left, Abū-Lahab said to them, 'He served you with a single leg of a sheep and a cup of milk and you had to excess. This is an enough proof on his sorcery.' They also laughed at Abū-Ṭālib saying, 'See how he preferred your son to you.'

Without doubt, the news of the Holy Prophet's invitation was spread among people of Quraysh as well as the Arabs. They for sure told each other that the 'new' Prophet had gathered his relatives and warned them as he invited them to the new religion. He also asked for a supporter and successor, but none accepted except his young cousin; therefore, he betook him as supporter and successor.

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The previous three evidences assert that the Holy Prophet's succession was a matter widely common for people since the earliest stages of his Divine Mission up to the last moments of his life. Furthermore, everybody recognized that Muḥammad's prophethood was a practical contrivance of a formation of a state governed by him and need for a successor. Hence, all tribes, from a material viewpoint, conceived his mission as a desirable plan that they should take a part in by gaining his promise of handing his leadership over to them.

This leads to the supposition that within the foremost Muslims there were hypocrites attracted by that contrivance, which seemed to be achieving victory in the future. Each of them might look forward to obtaining a leading position in that state. This is the only way by which we can find a suitable interpretation of Allāh's saying revealed in Makkah:

“And We have not made the wardens of the Fire other than angels, and We have not made their number but as a trial for those who disbelieve, that those who have been given the Book may be certain and those who believe may increase in faith, and those who have been the Book and the believers may not doubt, and that those in whose hearts is a disease and the unbelievers may say: What does Allāh mean by this parable? Thus does Allāh makes err whom He pleases, and He guides whom He pleases, and none knows the hosts of your Lord but He Himself; and this is naught but a reminder to the mortals. 74/31”

From the above, it is hard to believe the chieftains of Quraysh who claimed that Muslims had not discussed the question of the Holy Prophet's succession during his lifetime, even in a form of lawful or unlawful. Correspondingly, it is unacceptable to conclude that Muslims, who asked the Holy Prophet frequently about their future and narrated several reports in this regard, did not ask him about their next leader.

(2) THE PROPHET FORETELLS ABOUT THE TWELVE IMĀMS

We believe that the next leadership of the ummah was an unquestionable matter in the view of the Holy Prophet, since the Lord has given him the orders to convey the leadership of his progeny to people. This is the Lord's tradition with all the Prophets whose progenies inherited the Divine Books, judgments and Prophethood. Muḥammad, our Prophet, is indisputably the best and the seal of the Prophets. After him, no Prophet should come. Hence, the Imāmate and the inheritance of the Divine Book should follow. In like manner, his household and progeny are the best of the Prophets' progenies. The Lord has purified them thoroughly and has given them the judgment and the Divine Book exclusively. This is clear in His sayings:

“Surely, Allāh chose Adam and Nūḥ (Noah) and the descendants of Ibrāhīm (Abraham) and the descendants of `Imrān above the nations. Offspring one of the other; and Allāh is Hearing, Knowing. 3/34”

“Then We gave the Book for an inheritance to those whom We chose from among Our servants. 35/32”

As he realized that people of Quraysh had envied the Hāshimites and planned for taking them away from the position of leadership after him, the Holy Prophet used styles of wisdom and graduality in his frequent announcements of the Progeny's leadership. When they used rude practices and sayings against the Hāshimites, he used a style of a Prophetic ire against them. The Farewell Ḥajj was an excellent opportunity for him to carry the divine commandment regarding his Household's next leadership to his ummah in a massive scope. After the conveyance of the precepts and rulings, the expansion of the Islāmic state, the reduction of dangers and the declaration of the Holy Prophet's imminent departure, nothing remained save the declaration of the next leadership. In addition to authentic texts, logic proves that the Holy Prophet paid the greatest attention to this question during the Farewell Ḥajj. People of

Quraysh recognized the Holy Prophet's intention; therefore, they augmented all their activities and spared no efforts to stop such a declaration. Although there is a good deal of proofs on each point previously mentioned, this discussion is too narrow to cover them all.

We should stop sufficiently at the Holy Prophet's sermons in the Farewell Hajj. Abreast of the Sermon of Ghadīr, reference books have proven that the Holy Prophet delivered speeches on five occasions in that period. Historians should have reported these Prophetic sermons so completely since thousands of Muslims listened to them but, unfortunately, a few parts of them have been excerpted, especially in the reference books authorized by the Qurayshite caliphate.

The following is quoted from *al-Sīrah al-Halabiyyah* 3/333:

During the Hajj, the Holy Prophet addressed five sermons; the first was in Makkah on the seventh of Dhu'l-Hijjah, the second on Day of 'Arafat, the third on Day of Slaughtering in Minā, the fourth on Day of the Settlement in Minā and the five on Day of the First Return in Minā.

By reviewing at the texts of these sermons as recorded in more than one hundred reference books of Ḥadīth, one can evidently notice that people of Quraysh put their hands in these texts producing clear contrasts. That was because these sermons narrated the Holy Prophet's instructing Muslims to comply with his progeny after him and warning them against being engaged in discrepancies out of envy after they had received the knowledge. Finally, the Holy Prophet submitted them to an impeccable and thorough proof. Despite the Qurayshite blackout, we could receive some of these texts from reference books authorized by the ruling authorities themselves. However, these texts are adequate for recognizing the Holy Prophet's instructions and affirmation on the commitment to the leadership of his immaculate progeny after him.

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HADITH OF THE TWELVE IMĀMS

All Muslims have unanimously agreed upon the fact that the Holy Prophet had predicted the coming of the Twelve Imāms during the Farewell Ḥajj.¹ They comprise the Ḥadīth of the Two Weighty Things—the Qur`ān and the Ahl al-Bayt, Ḥadīth of the Holy Prophet's Paradisiacal Pool and the Ṣaḥābah² whom will be sent to Hellfire and will be deprived of the water of that Pool.

Al-Bukhārī, in *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 8/127, records the following:

Jābir ibn Samarah narrated: I heard the Holy Prophet saying, "There will be twelve princes..." Then, he said a word that I could not perceive. So, I asked my father about it. "All will be from Quraysh," asserted my father.

Muslim, in *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 6/3 records:

Jābir ibn Samarah narrated: I heard the Holy Prophet saying, "Islām will be fortified for a period of twelve successors..." Then, he said a word that I could not perceive. I asked my father about it. "All will be from Quraysh," asserted my father.

Muslim records a similar narration in which he states "Then, he said something that I could not conceive," instead of "Then, he said a word that I could not perceive."

According to a third narration recorded by Muslim, the following form is mentioned:

¹ Later on, the texts of the sacred sermons of the Farewell Ḥajj will be cited.

² Ṣaḥābah are generally the companions of the Holy Prophet and, terminologically, every one, disregarding the age, who saw, heard or witnessed the Holy Prophet. Yet, various opinions have been given in this regard. For more information, see Aḥmad Ḥusayn Ya`qub: *The Conception of the Ṣaḥābah's Ultimate Decency*; translated by Badr Shahin, Ansariyan Publications – Qum, 1999.

“This religion will be kept in efficacy and power for a period of twelve successors...” Then, he said a word that I could not hear due to the noise of people. I asked my father about it. “All will be from Quraysh,” asserted my father.

Imitated by the majority of reference books of Ḥadīth, al-Bukhārī has not referred to even one point indicating that the incident had happened during the sermon of the Farewell Ḥajj on Mount `Arafāt. A number of books, however, have referred to this point. The following is written down in Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal’s *al-Musnad* 5/93, 36 and 99: “Jābir ibn Samarah narrated the following: On Mount `Arafāt, the Holy Prophet sermonized...” On page 87, “The Holy Prophet said during the Farewell Ḥajj...” and on page 99, “al-Muqaddami narrated: During his sermon in Minā, I heard the Holy Prophet ...”

Later on, we will prove that this remarkable matter had been repeatedly affirmed on Mount `Arafāt, Minā and al-Khayf Masjid before it was declared in a formal, obligatory and decisive form in Ghadīr Khumm.

What is the story of those Twelve Imāms? What for did the Holy Prophet provide their question before the greatest mass of Muslims who listened to their Prophet while he was bidding farewell?

Al-Bukhārī answers: Those are not Imāms to follow the Holy Prophet in leadership obligatorily; rather they are only virtuous princes who will be in this nation at a certain period of time. The Holy Prophet only conveyed his Lord’s future news to his nation. Indeed, they will be from Quraysh, not only Hāshim. They will be from the twenty tribes of Quraysh. None of Anṣār, the Arab tribes or the non-Arab people will be among them. This is the whole matter.

What for did the Holy Prophet convey this matter to his people during the Farewell Ḥajj on Mount `Arafāt? What was the practical affair ensued from that?

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Al-Bukhārī answers: It is a matter of a prediction only. The Holy Prophet wanted to foretell his people so that they would be cheerful. It is only “journalistic” news empty of any practical element.

Concisely, saving that sole narration, which cannot be perceived, al-Bukhārī has not referred to this topic at all. On the other hand, he has recorded numerous clear-cut narrations respecting the menstruation of `Ā`ishah during the Farewell Hajj! He gives in details how the Holy Prophet revered her and sent a nurse for helping her perform the rites of `Umrah.

Muslim—the Hadīthist—is a little bit fairer than al-Bukhārī in this regard. He has opted for a narration leading to the fact that those twelve successors will be ruling after the Holy Prophet. This narration should recuperate Muslims since it settles the problem of the Holy Prophet’s succession. Those are Imāms nominated by the Exalted Lord and the Holy Prophet. Their legality is derived from this divine nomination. Hence, the matter will not require a secret meeting or discrepancies resulting in a bloody combat on power from the first days of Islām until now causing millions of victims as well as dissensions that led to the accumulation of the ummah’s weakness until it was completely collapsed on the hands of the Ottomans.

Muslim, however, adds, ‘No, this problem was not solved. The Holy Prophet had just referred to those successors generally. He did not identify their names and personalities. Any of the ten thousands before whom this serious matter was addressed did not ask for an explanation and none of them asked the Holy Prophet whom they would be. Had the Holy Prophet referred to their names, or only the name of the first one of them, all the clans of Quraysh would have accepted and submitted, since they were too pious to disobey the Lord and His Messenger!’

Muslim thus repeats the same words of al-Bukhārī, ‘No! They are only godly people by whom Islām will be fortified. They are from Quraysh—Quraysh only!’

Thus and so, al-Bukhārī and Muslim would never lead to an acceptable effect in the question of those Twelve Imāms. They lock all doors and repeat the same words of people of Quraysh, 'Your Prophet only referred to the smell of those twelve ones during the Farewell Ḥajj. You should only smell and keep peace!'

At any rate, other reference books of Ḥadīth have paid an attention, less than that of Muslim and al-Bukhārī, to policy and politicians during reporting the Holy Prophet's news. These books have referred to working matters in the question involved. They have thus related the phrase 'after me' in a form referring to the fact that those predicted Imāms should be ruling directly after the Holy Prophet.

In *al-Musnad* 5/92, Aḥmad relates the same narration to Jābir al-Siwā'ī in the following form:

I heard the Holy Prophet saying, "After me, there will be..."

On the same page, he refers to another form:

Jābir ibn Samarah narrated that the Holy Prophet said, "After me, there will be twelve successors. All will be from Quraysh." When the Holy Prophet returned home, people of Quraysh came and asked about the age following those successors. "Then, commotion will be befalling," asserted the Holy Prophet.

The phrase, 'After me', which refers to the direct stage after the Holy Prophet, is mentioned in both narrations. The second, likewise, reveals people of Quraysh's care for the question regarding those twelve godly Imāms. It also avers that the story happened in al-Madinah, not during the Farewell Ḥajj.

The phrase was repeated in various narrations mentioned in other reference books:

Jābir ibn Samarah narrated that the Prophet said, "After me, there will be twelve princes..." As I could not

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perceive the next sentence, I asked some people... (Aḥmad: *al-Musnad* 5/94.)

Jābir al-Siwā`ī narrated that the Holy Prophet said, "After me there will be twelve princes..." As I could not hear the next sentence, I asked the man next to me. "All will be from Quraysh," clarified he. (Aḥmad: *al-Musnad* 5/99, 108)

The Holy Prophet said, "Following me, there will be twelve princes." As I could not understand the next sentence, I asked the one next to me. "All will be from Quraysh," said he. (Al-Tirmidhī: *al-Sunan*; 3/340)

Jābir ibn Samarah narrated: I heard the Holy Prophet saying, "After me, there will be twelve successors... (al-Bukhārī: *Tārīkh* 1/446 No. 1426)

Abu'l-Qāsim al-Baghawī narrated that `Abdullāh ibn `Umar said: I heard the Holy Prophet saying, "After me, there will be twelve successors." (Ibn Ḥajar: *al-Ṣawā`iq al-Muḥriqah* 20)

All the previous reports prove that the Holy Prophet discussed the question of the next leadership during the Farewell Ḥajj and conveyed the Lord's commandment of those twelve ones being the legal leaders of the ummah. This fact cites a number of questions to be answered by the people of Quraysh and their reporters:

First: Why are the narrations of this question almost restricted to a single narrator -Jābir ibn Samarah al-Siwā`ī- who was a ten year old boy, maybe, during the Farewell Ḥajj? Is it reasonable that any other individual could not hear these narrations except this boy? What for did the other companions attending there avoid narrating this occurrence?

Jābir's way of narration might have been attaining satisfaction of the Qurayshite caliphate as it was proved as the most suitable. Therefore, its forms were recorded and admitted under the supervision of the ruling authorities. Most surely, other

individuals conveyed this occurrence, but in a way inappropriate to be publicized!

Second: Muslims were wont to ask the Holy Prophet about the most diminutive features of each matter. They even interrupted his speeches for addressing indicative questions. The narrations involved have related the Holy Prophet's discussing a matter of a high importance—a foretelling about a doctrinal, practical, momentous and futuristic matter. These narrations have claimed the Holy Prophet's obscuring this most important point of the issue. Finally, they have claimed that none of Muslims asked or wondered about those Imāms or people's obligation towards them!

How can one believe that people of Quraysh, who knocked the door of the Holy Prophet's house in al-Madīnah, for asking about those Twelve Imāms, as the narrator himself reported, did not ask him about these Imām's identities and ages? Does the word 'Quraysh' stand for Abū-Bakr and 'Umar exclusively, in al-Madīnah? Likewise, how can one believe that Muslims who attended the Farewell Hajj did not ask the Holy Prophet about those Imāms, their ages and people's role towards them?

Third: why could the narrator not perceive the very important word that defined the identity of those twelve ones; he therefore he asked the man next to him? The same word could not be perceived by the narrator who reported the Holy Prophet's addressing the same sermon in al-Madīnah. Why do reference books of Ḥadīth authorized by the Qurayshite caliphate restrict Samarah and 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb as the only persons who carried the missed word of the Holy Prophet?

Moreover, various questions insist on revealing the hiddens of this narration and urge scholars to check in books of Ḥadīth and history. Hereinafter, we aim at focusing lights on the missed word by providing a number of notes and questions.

(A) The Origin of the Word

Is 'All will be from my household,' the origin of 'All will be from Quraysh?' What is the reason beyond the absence of the most important statement? Who was that man whom the narrator asked about that word?

Aḥmad, in *al-Musnad* 5/100 and 107, records that the narrator himself could not perceive the statement; therefore, he asked about it:

As I could not perceive the next statement, I asked my father. "He said: all will be from Quraysh," asserted my father.

... He then said a word that I could not perceive. My father was nearer to the Holy Prophet than I was. I asked him about that word. He answered, "He said: All will be from Quraysh." (Al-Ḥākīm's *al-Mustadrak*; 3/617)

Aḥmad, in *al-Musnad* 5/90 and 98, records that the Holy Prophet himself intended to hide that word:

... He then said a word too silent to be heard. "What did he say?" I asked my father. "He said: All will be from Quraysh," answered my father.

... He then said a word with a silent voice. I asked my uncle who was sitting before me about it. "O son! He said: All will be from Quraysh," answered my uncle. (al-Ḥākīm, *al-Mustadrak* 3/618)

Jābir ibn Samarah narrated that the Prophet said, "For this nation, there will be twelve custodians who will never be influenced by those who frustrate them." Then he said a word with a silent voice that I could not perceive. "What was that word that the Holy Prophet had spoken quietly?" I asked my father. "It was: All will be from Quraysh," asserted my father. (Al-Ṭabarānī: *al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr* 2/213-4 No. 1794)

According to other narrations, it was people, not the narrator or the Holy Prophet, who caused the word to disappear.

This means that people -who were consecrating for their Lord on `Arafāt, living the last moments of their Prophet's life and waiting for any word he would speak of- were noisy as if they were in an auction and some of them disturbed and shouted while the Holy Prophet was articulating the most sensitive word so that the faithful believers would not perceive! People were crying, shouting, speaking loudly, making noise, standing and sitting while the Holy Prophet was addressing his sermon:

... People began to shout 'Allāhu Akbar' and make noise. Meanwhile, the Holy Prophet pronounced a word I could not catch. "What did he say, father?" I asked. "He said: All will be from Quraysh," answered my father. (Abū-Dāwūd's *al-Sunan* 2/309 and Aḥmad's *al-Musnad* 5/98)

...Then, he pronounced a word that I could not hear because of people's noise. "What did he say, father?" I asked. "He said: All will be from Quraysh," answered my father. (Aḥmad's *al-Musnad* 5/98)

...People began to shout... (Aḥmad's *al-Musnad* 5/93)

...People then began to make noise and speak aloud. I could not understand the word after "All..." (Aḥmad's *al-Musnad* 5/99)

..."This religion will be kept in efficacy and power for a period of twelve successors who will be given victory over their opponents..." Then people began to stand and sit... (Aḥmad's *al-Musnad* 5/99)

Regarding those whom Jābir asked about the missed word, most of narrations affirm that he asked his father Samarah. Hence, the testimony of including all the clans of Quraysh with the Hāshimites in the question of the next Twelve Imāms depends upon the authenticity of Samarah. Samarah's being Muslim could not be proved; numerous narrations authenticated by

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Muslim, al-Bukhārī and others refer to this fact. However, other forms of the narration prove other things:

... As I asked all people, they answered, "He said: All will be from Quraysh." (Aḥmad's *al-Musnad* 5/92, 90)

... I asked people, or the man next to me, "What..." (Aḥmad's *al-Musnad* 5/108)

... As I could not perceive that word, I asked the one next to me... (Aḥmad's *al-Musnad* 5/99, 108)

Al-Ṭabarānī, however, emphasizes that Jābir confirmed that people said that the Holy Prophet said, 'All will be from Quraysh.'

... I could not understand what he said next; therefore, I asked people. They claimed that he said, "All will be from Quraysh." (al-Ṭabarānī's *al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr*; 2/249, *Hadīth* 2044)

Is it credible that the most important word identifying the Twelve Imāms whom the Holy Prophet foretold could be vanished in that quite silent circumstance on 'Arafāt and none would ask the Holy Prophet about?

A scholar may approach the fact when he looks at the other narrations related by Jābir ibn Samarah himself, regarding the Holy Prophet's having been riding on his animal and declaring these words. This supports the fact that the Holy Prophet tried to make all the attendants hear and listen:

... Then, the Holy Prophet's voice vanished. I asked my father who was nearer to the Holy Prophet's animal... (Aḥmad's *al-Musnad* 5/87)

They have also related that the Holy Prophet ordered a man of sonorous voice to repeat his words as aloud as possible so that people would hear:

... Rabī'ah ibn Khalaf al-Jamḥī was of sonorous voice; the Holy Prophet ordered him to repeat his words aloud on

Day of `Arafāt. He was standing before the Holy Prophet's she-camel. "O people! Do you realize this month?" said the Holy Prophet and ordered Rabī'ah to declare aloud, and Rabī'ah did. "Yes, it is the sacred month," people answered affirmatively. "Allāh has surely deemed your blood and assets amongst you as sacred as this month until the day on which you will meet Him," said the Holy Prophet and ordered Rabī'ah to declare aloud...

Ibn `Abbās said: ...When he halted on `Arafāt, the Holy Prophet ordered Rabī'ah ibn Umayyah ibn Khalaf, a man with a sonorous voice, to stand just before his she-camel and repeat his words aloud...

Al-Ṭabarānī relates this report to authentic narrators.¹

Although they relate the same narration to the same reporter in various forms, the missed word, in all forms, is invariably the same. This supports the claim that the statement was 'All will be from my progeny' or 'All will be from my household', not 'All will be from Quraysh.'

They also narrate that the narrator asserted that the Holy Prophet's sermon was in al-Madīnah, not `Arafāt, yet, the missed word was the same—the identity of those Twelve Imāms:

Jābir ibn Samarah narrated: My father and I came to the Holy Prophet who was saying, "This affair will be kept in excellence until there will be twelve princes..." Then, he said a word I could not perceive. "What did he say?" I asked my father. "He said: All will be from Quraysh," said my father. (Aḥmad's *al-Musnad* 5/97, 107)

The same narration is moved to the small mosque of al-Madīnah and, nevertheless, the missed word is invariably the same. Jābir ibn Samarah could not understand it until he asked

¹ *Majma` al-Zawā'id* 3/270.

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'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, the Qurayshite caliph, and 'Umar answered!

The Holy Prophet was on the minbar¹ when he addressed, "There will be twelve custodians from people of Quraysh. They will not be influenced by their opponents." 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, may Allāh please him, and my father were among people. They all asserted the saying as same as I could perceive. (al-Ṭabarānī's *al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr* 2/256, No 2073).

Al-Bazzār relates this narration to Jābir ibn Samarah alone. He adds:

When the Holy Prophet returned home, I followed him to ask about the stage following those twelve ones. "Commotion will be coming next," said the Holy Prophet.²

The text became: 'Twelve custodians opposed by people.' A group among whom was 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and the narrator's father became the supporters of the text. Hence, place, time and persons of the occurrence were changed. Yet; the missed word is invariably the same.

A more unfamiliar matter is that while they relate the narration to Abū-Juḥayfah, the missed word is still invariably the same! Yet, the narrator, here, asks his uncle, not father:

'Awn ibn Abū-Juḥayfah narrated the following on the authority of his father: I was accompanying my uncle to the Holy Prophet when he spoke, "The affairs of this nation will be kept in rectitude until twelve successors go on..." He then pronounced a word I could not perceive. "What did he say, uncle? I asked. "He said: All will be

¹ Minbar is a small set of steps in a mosque from which the sermons are delivered.

² This narration is authenticated. see *Majma' al-Zawā'id* 5/191.

from Quraysh," asserted my uncle. (Al-Hākim's *al-Mustadrak* 3/618)¹

Eventually, we find ourselves facing an unprecedented phenomenon in all traditions. It refers to a highly exceptional matter that is hidden beyond the statement, 'All will be from Quraysh.'

It is also supposable that the original narrator is 'Umar himself; it was he who affirmed and corrected to the boy Jābir ibn Samarah. Al-Khazzāz al-Qummī, in *Kifāyat al-Athar* 90, relates the same report to 'Umar only, without referring to Samarah, or his son, or Abū-Juḥayfah, or his uncle:

... 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb narrated the following: I heard the Holy Prophet saying, "After me, the Imāms will be twelve..." He then pronounced a word so silently that I could hardly perceive. I heard him saying, "All will be from Quraysh."

Depending on this narration, which is the most authentic in our view, the generalization of the identity of those Twelve Imāms to include all the clans of Quraysh, not the Hāshimites in particular, was invented by 'Umar. In addition, it coincides his saying, "People of Quraysh reject that the Hāshimites join leadership to prophethood," which he frequently addressed to the Hāshimites during and after the Holy Prophet's lifetime.

(B) The Divine Promise of Unknown Leadership is Impracticable

The promise of the advent of Twelve Imāms is a divine word of the All-wise Lord. It is a traditional promise of Imāms to follow a Prophet. It was given to the previous nations, as well. Besides, it represents a mercy to this nation by which people can settle the problems that they will certainly face after their

¹ Al-Ṭabarānī: *al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr* and *al-Mu'jam al-Awṣaṭ* and al-Haythamī: *Majma' al-Zawā'id* 5/190.

Prophet. How is it, then, practicable for the Lord to promise His Messenger of unknown leaders?

The Exalted Lord promised the previous nations of the advent of a messenger named 'Aḥmad' after five centuries. This was conveyed by Jesus revealing the impracticability to admit that the Lord promised the seal of nations of godly custodians, without naming their leading one at least or naming their clan. It is unacceptable for Him to promise of men coming amongst twenty-three clans that have disagreed with each other on the most trivial worldly affairs. To give credence to such a lie is to impute imprudence to the Glorified Lord and His Messenger, and such a claim is impossibly stated by any Muslim or even any fair Orientalist! It happened sometimes that the Holy Prophet addressed a general idea or foretelling to people, expecting their inquiry, so that his answer would be more effective. But, in our question, Muslims' inquiries, as well as the Holy Prophet's answer, are nonexistent. They are found in Shiite reference books of Ḥadīth only.

(C) The Imāms are from Quraysh, but from the Ahl al-Bayt

Supposing the problematic points of the narration involved are disregarded and the Holy Prophet's nominating those twelve godly Qurayshite custodians is acceptable, a question will be aroused: Which tribe of Quraysh is intended? The clans of Quraysh are more than twenty. According to authentic narrations recorded in the major reference books of Ḥadīth, Almighty Allāh has preferred people of Quraysh to the Arabs and has preferred the Hāshimites to Quraysh. Is it then acceptable that He chooses those Twelve Imāms succeeding the Holy Prophet from a clan other than the Hāshimites?

The following narration is recorded by Muslim: *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 7/58:

Wāthilah ibn al-Asqa' narrated: I heard the Holy Prophet saying, "Allāh has chosen the tribe of Kinānah amongst sons of Ishmael and chosen the tribe of Quraysh amongst

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the Kinānah and chosen the Hāshimites amongst the Quraysh and chosen me among the Hāshimites.

As he relates the same narration, al-Tirmidhī, in *al-Sunan* 5/245, decides it as one-way qualified narration. On page 243, he decides it as authentically qualified. Following this, he records a number of narrations of the same supposition:

Al-`Abbās ibn `Abd al-Muṭṭalib narrated: I told the Holy Prophet that people of Quraysh discussed their lineages and when they mentioned him, they likened him to a date palm tree planting in a junkyard. The Holy Prophet commented, "When Almighty Allāh created things, He made me with the best party. Then, He made me in the best tribe. Then, He made me in the best house. Hence, I am the best party, tribe and house. (This is a qualified narration.)

Following this, al-Tirmidhī writes a similar narration with another series of narrators deciding it as one-way authentic narration:

Ibn `Abbās narrated: The descendants of `Imrān, mentioned in Allāh's saying, "Surely Allāh chose Adam and Noah and the descendants of Abraham and the descendants of `Imrān above the nations," are the believers among sons of Abraham, `Imrān, Yāsīn and Muḥammad. (Al-Bukhārī, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 4/138)

Qur'ānic texts and Ḥadīths respecting selecting, preferring, favoring and preceding the Hāshimites to the ummah are too many to be covered in this discussion. This preference is by the reason that the Ahl al-Bayt being part of him, as well as being the diamond of the Hāshimites and their best. Generally, they are the diamond of sons of Adam.

Taking al-Bukhārī's testimony, a scholar can conclude, by processing a simple equation, those twelve men being the progeny of Prophet Muḥammad. In the earliest narration, it is proved that the Twelve Imāms are chosen amongst people of Quraysh. In the latter, it is proved that Muḥammad's progeny,

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like Abraham's, are chosen. Hence, the twelve expected Imāms should be Muḥammad's progeny whom are selected by the Lord. At a least criterion, those twelve men should be from Muḥammad's progeny. This is also advocated by al-Bukhārī's narration that tells 'Alī's being the first complainant on the Resurrection Day. This means that Imām 'Alī will bear an important issue preferred to all other issues of this nation. This issue, however, can be understood from Imām 'Alī's following saying recorded in *Nahj al-Balāghah* 1/82:

“By Allāh I swear, people of Quraysh bear malice against us for one and only reason—the Lord prefers us to them. Then, we permitted them to gain entry into our group. Hence, they are applicable to the poet's saying:

It is we who endowed you this elevation and you were not Elevated and we encompassed you with swords and spears.”¹

Qays ibn 'Abādah narrated: 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib, may Allāh please him, said, “I will be the first to kneel before the Beneficent Lord for litigation on the Resurrection Day.”

(4) Hadīths Explaining the Narration of the Twelve Imāms

It is unanimously agreeable that the Holy Prophet's texts, like the Qur'ān, explicate each other. This is a perceptual principle. Naturally, any nation should scrutinize the other practical and articulate texts of their Prophet for recognizing the Twelve Imāms of whom he had foretold. A deep look at our Prophet's words about his progeny (Namely 'Alī, Fāṭimah, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn) removes any doubt that those persons, whom were frequently praised and acclaimed by the Holy Prophet who never speaks out of desire, are the very intendeds in the text involved. As a matter of fact, Muslims agree that those persons were frequently praised by the Holy Prophet on various occasions; he declared that they were purified thoroughly by the Lord. This fact is recorded in an evident Qur'ānic text. He

¹ Al-Bukhārī, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 5/6

also ordered Muslims to cherish and bless them during their daily prayers. He deemed unlawful for them to receive alms and, instead, he legislated their enjoying a share of the one-fifth rate (khums) imposed upon Muslims. Finally, the Holy Prophet's will was to adhere to them besides the Qur'an. He named them as the minor weighty thing after the Qur'an—the major one as proven by authentic reports mentioned in the major reference books of Ḥadith. The Holy Prophet's words of praising his progeny and warning against wronging and opposing them are too many to be covered in this discussion. At any rate, these words have been good examples for the mindful and fact-finders.

(5) *Twelve Imāms and Twelve Months*

Narrations appertained to the Holy Prophet's sermons during the Farewell Ḥajj have asserted that he referred to the rotation of time to its first creation when he mentioned the Twelve Imāms. Thereafter, he recited Almighty Allāh's saying:

“Surely, the number of months with Allāh is twelve months in Allāh's ordinance since the day when He created the heavens and the earth, of these four being sacred. 9/36”

Al-Bukhārī, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 5/126, 204 and 6/235, records the following:

Abū-Bakrah narrated that the Holy Prophet stated, “Time has rotated to the first creation of the heavens and earth. A year is twelve months among which there are four sacred ones—Dhu'l-Qa'dah, Dhu'l-Ḥijjah, Muḥarram and Rajab. The first three are successive.¹”

In *Majma' al-Zawā'id* 3/265, the same narration is related in a style more accordant to the Holy Prophet's eloquence than al-Bukhārī's:

¹ Also, Abū-Dāwūd: *al-Sunan* 1/435 and Aḥmad *al-Musnad* 5/37.

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...Time has rotated as same as the first day on which the Lord created the heavens and the earth. "Surely the number of months with Allāh is twelve months in Allāh's ordinance since the day when He created the heavens and the earth, of these four being sacred. That is the right reckoning; therefore, be not unjust to yourselves." Do not apostatize from your religion after me killing each other...

Sunni scholars have cited the custom of postponing the sacred months as the meaning suggested by the Holy Prophet in this narration. Hence, he suggests a new beginning of time, which leads to canceling that custom. As a matter of fact, this exegesis is unconvincing since the custom of postponing the sacred month leaves no effect on time or on the universe that its cancellation leads to creating a new beginning to time. Secondly, there is no single indication to any relationship between the rotation of time and the custom of postponing the sacred months. Each is an independent topic. Hence, scholars are mistaken when they establish such a relationship. As the Holy Prophet was in a situation of bidding his people farewell and providing the next stage of guidance, aberrance, rulings, beliefs and paths to Paradise and Hellfire, it is most likely that he intended to say that a new stage of the divine guidance and aberrance would be beginning on that day. He also intended to say that the material movement of time is based upon the twelve months, while the mental movement is based upon the consent to the Twelve Imāms. Material and mental existence of those Imāms coincides with the system of the twelve months, which is effective in the movement of this universe. This view is supported by the sacredness and consecration of number twelve in the Holy Qur'ān. The Lord identifies twelve chieftains for the Israelites and twelve apostles for Jesus Christ. Similarly, the Holy Prophet asked Anṣār to elect twelve chieftains in the earlier stage of their homage. He also foretold his people about the advent of Twelve Imāms. Moreover, holy texts have asserted that the deviation of this nation is originated by twelve misleading men from the Ṣaḥābah. Consequently, in the face of each Imām, there should be a misleading man and in

the face of each Prophet, there should be a nefarious enemy purposing for inveigling people. Almighty Allāh says, 'And the day when the unjust one will bite his hands, saying: O! Would that I had taken a way with the Apostle. Woe is I! Would that I had not taken such a one for a friend! Certainly, he led me astray from the reminder after it had come to me; and the Satan fails to aid man. And the Apostle cried out: O my Lord! My people have treated this Qur`ān as a forsaken thing. And thus have We made for every Prophet an enemy from among the sinners, and sufficient is your Lord as a Guide and a Helper. 25/27-8"

Muslim, in *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 8/122-3, writes down:

The Prophet stated: "There are twelve hypocrites among my companions. Eight of them will never see Paradise until a camel passes through the eye of a needle. Eight of them will be killed by an epidemic. And four will..." I could not memorize the rest.

The Prophet stated: "There are twelve hypocrites among my companions. They will never see or smell Paradise until a camel passes through the eye of a needle. Eight of them will be perished by an epidemic. A flaming lamp will be emerging between their shoulders and flowing out of their chests."

Abū al-Ṭufayl narrated: A sort of inconsistency arouse between Ḥudhayfah and one of the people of al-`Aqabah Plot. "I adjure you by Allāh to answer me about the number of the people of al-`Aqabah Plot," the man asked Ḥudhayfah. "You should answer him," people urged. Ḥudhayfah spoke, "Well, we were told that they had been fourteen men. They should be fifteen if you were one of them. By Allāh I swear, twelve of them are the foes of the Lord and His Messenger in this world and on that day when witnesses will be arising."¹

¹ Also, Aḥmad: *al-Musnad* 4/320.

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It is thus not unacceptable to say that the Holy Prophet's intention was to tell people that the Exalted Lord has established humankind on laws of guidance and aberrance since the first day He created the heavens and the earth. These laws are executed by elements of providing evidences and respiting people to choose either guidance or aberrance. Like positive and negative, the elements of guidance and aberrance should befall together. The Lord then has inspired human souls to distinguish the right from the wrong. As He caused Adam to descend to this earth, the Lord caused Satan to descend with him. With each Prophet, there was a single or a number of misleading people. In this nation, the number of the leading Imāms is equal to that of the misleading hypocrites; which is twelve. Hence, a new rotation of guidance and aberrance has begun in the same way as it began with Adam and Satan. This is the meaning of the new beginning of time that leads to the extinction of an age and the beginning of another. This idea is supported by the exegesis of the Qur'ānic Verse, "Surely the number of months with Allāh is twelve months in Allāh's ordinance since the day when He created the heavens and the earth," that the Ahl al-Bayt adopts.

(6) Jābir al-Siwa`ī; the Reporter of the Narration

As Sunni major reference books of Ḥadīth have related the narration of the Twelve Imāms to `Abdullāh ibn Mas`ūd, Abū-Juḥayfah and Jābir ibn Samarah al-Siwā`ī, they have depended mainly upon Jābir ibn Samarah ibn Janādah. It has been said that he was son of `Amr ibn Jundab ibn Hujayr ibn Ri`āb ibn Ḥabīb ibn Saw`ah ibn `Āmir ibn Ṣa`ṣa`ah al-Siwā`ī. Others have said that he belonged to the tribe of `Āmir ibn Ṣa`ṣa`ah.¹ Jābir and his father were confederates of the tribe of Zuhrah.² This strengthens the doubt that Jābir did not belong to Quraysh. If he had belonged to the tribe of `Āmir ibn Ṣa`ṣa`ah, he would not have confederated the tribe of Zuhrah. I myself read al-

¹ Ibn Ḥajar: *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* 2/35.

² Al-Dhahbī: *Siyar A`lām al-Nubalā`* 3/187.

Dhahbī's saying that Jābir died during the reign of `Abd al-Malik (ibn Marwān the fifth Umayyad caliph) and that ibn Sa'd alleged that Samarah, the father, had become Muslim only on the Day of the Conquest of Makkah and none else has mentioned anything about his death.¹ This takes us to the fact that Samarah was one of the Ṭulaqā' 'Released Ones'² and that al-Dhahbī suspects whether Samarah embraced Islām or not. Therefore, he says, "Ibn Sa'd alleges that..." Al-Bukhārī, in *al-Tārīkh al-Kabīr* 4/177, has claimed Samarah's being one of the Ṣaḥābah. Jābir is the child of a 'released one.' He was an infant during the conquest of Makkah. He died in AH 76. He narrated that after the Day of Conquest of Makkah, the Holy Prophet passed his hand over the faces of the small boys who were performing prayer in al-Madīnah. He was one of those small boys.³ Jābir might have lived in the custody of Sa'd ibn Abū-Waqqāṣ; his maternal uncle, in al-Madīnah. It has been related that he had participated in the conquest of al-Madā'in before he moved in Kūfah where he built a house for himself.

All the above proves that Jābir was a teenage during the Farewell Ḥajj. Hence, the only reliable narrator of this narration is a teenage son of a 'released one' who was a confederate of Quraysh. How strange the chiefs of this nation and the chiefs of the Ṣaḥābah were! They had not possessed even the intellectuality of that teenage 'released' boy who cared for the future of his nation and the coming godly Imāms! In more accurate words, how firm the Qurayshite ruling authorities who had full control on Ḥadīths were! They disallowed Sunnis to record and publicize the narrations appertained to the coming Twelve Imāms whom the Holy Prophet had foretold, except the narration of this teenage!

¹ Ibn Ḥajar, *Tahdhīb al-Tahdhīb* 4/206

² When the Holy Prophet conquered Makkah, he summoned its people who had mistreated him so badly to the degree that they had waged many campaigns against him. Yet, he pardoned them and they were named the 'Released Ones'.

³ *Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā'* 3/187.

(7) Marks of Authenticity Given to the Three Narrations

Three forms and three narrators of the report of the Twelve Imāms are found in Sunni reference books of Ḥadīth. They have agreed upon authenticating Jābir ibn Samarah's narration; some of them have decided the authenticity of Abū-Juḥayfah's narration while the majority decided it as a qualified with a rather doubtful narrator. Regarding Ibn Mas'ūd, they give opposite marks to his narration since, as they claim, Mujālid ibn Sa'id, whom is decided as trustful by al-Nassā'ī and a few specialist scholars while others had judged him as doubtful, is within the series of narrators. Samarah; Jābir's father, and 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb should be added to the three previous narrators. The majority of narrations affirm that those two men informed Jābir about the missed word. Moreover, 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb should be regarded as a main narrator according to the foresaid narration recorded in *Kifāyat al-Athar*.

The following is a number of scholars' opinions about Ibn Mas'ūd's narration:

Majma' al-Zawā'id 5/190:

The Twelve Successors: Masrūq narrated that Ibn Mas'ūd was teaching us Holy Qur'an when a man asked whether they had asked the Holy Prophet about the number of the successors who would be ruling this ummah. 'I have never been asked such a question since I was in Iraq,' asserted Ibn Mas'ūd, 'It is yes. We have asked the Holy Prophet this question and he answered that they would be twelve, like the number of the Israelites' chieftains.'

[Comment on the narration] This narration is reported by Aḥmad, Abū-Ya'li and al-Bazzār. One of its narrators is Mujālid ibn Sa'id. Except al-Nassā'ī, majority of Ḥadīthists decides him as unreliable. The other narrators are trustworthy.

The same is recorded in al-Ḥākim's *al-Mustadrak* 4/501 who adds, 'I am too short to give my opinion about the narrations of Mujālid and his likes.'

Ibn Hajar, in *al-Ṣawā'iq al-Muḥriqah* 20, decides the eligibility of the narration. He records, 'Ibn Mas'ūd relates, in a qualified documentation... etc

Al-Suyūṭī, in *Tārīkh al-Khulafā'* 13, decides the eligibility of the narration, too. He records, 'Aḥmad and al-Bazzār records the qualified narration of ibn Mas'ūd... etc

Al-Būṣirī, as quoted from *Kanz al-'Ummāl* 6/89, decides the narrations as eligible. He says: Musaddad, Ibn Rāḥawayh, Ibn Abū-Shaybah, Abū-Ya'li and Aḥmad relate this qualified narration... etc.¹

If the reason of distrusting Ibn Mas'ūd's narration is the existence of Mujālid within the series of the narrators, the same narration has been related, in a number of Shiite reference books of Ḥadīth, to a series of other narrators.² Nevertheless, this matter makes no change for the judgment issued by Sunni scholars. The narration is given the degree of 'Ḥasan—qualified with a rather doubtful narrator' whatever is proved! Further, this degree seems to be obscure for Sunni scholars since the original problem of Ibn Mas'ūd's narration is to avoid adding 'All will be from Quraysh.' The erasure of this statement makes the readers understand that those coming godly Imāms would obligatorily be rulers succeeding the Holy Prophet. This fact draws a big red circle on the procedures of al-Saqīfah from which the Hāshimites were absent and busy in preparing the funeral of the Holy Prophet!

¹ Also, Aḥmad: *al-Musnad* 1/398 and 406 and al-Muttaqī al-Hindī: *Kanz al-'Ummāl* 6/89 and 12/32 as quoted from Ibn Sa'd: *al-Ṭabaqāt* and Ibn 'Asākir: *Tārīkh*.

² Shaykh al-Ṣadūq: *al-Ikhtisāṣ* 233, al-Khazzāz: *Kifāyat al-Athar* 73 and al-Nu'mānī: *al-Ghaybah* 106.

(8) Contradiction of the Contents of The Three Narrations

Sunni reference books of Ḥadīth record Jābir ibn Samarah's narration in two different forms one of which is accordant to Abū-Juḥayfah's. Ibn Mas'ūd had his own form. On that account, the narration has been in three different forms. The first foreordains that those promised men will be coming after the Holy Prophet and all will belong to Quraysh. This text occurs in the majority of Jābir's narrations. Sunni scholars have decided the authenticity of this form. Al-Albānī, likewise, has decided the authenticity of this form and recorded it under No. 1075 of his series of the authentic Ḥadīths.

The second form foretells that those twelve men will be ruling after the Holy Prophet and all will be from Quraysh. It also tells that Islām will be kept in power and protection as long as those men rule. After that, it will be weak and humble and, finally, collapse. This form is mentioned by a number of Jābir's narrations and all of Abū-Juḥayfah's. Most of Sunni scholars have decided its authenticity. Al-Albānī has affixed the form narrated by Jābir ibn Samarah under number 376 of his series of authentic Ḥadīths. Abū-Juḥayfah's narration has been decided as qualified. Ibn Mas'ūd's narration has been cited as witness on the authenticity of the previous. Finally, al-Albānī has refuted Abū-Dāwūd's additional wording in which he, as well as other scholars, affirms that all people of this nation will be loyal to those coming Imāms, and regards it as deniable.

The third form establishes that those Imāms will come after the Holy Prophet in a way similar to the situation of the disciples of Prophets Moses and Jesus. This form is however empty of 'All will be from Quraysh.' Most of Ibn Mas'ūd's narrations depend upon this form. Divergence and contrast are the most remarkable notes to be recorded on the various forms of the narrations involved. This is not an easy or acceptable matter, especially in such a sort of narrations. In addition, this contrast is hardly answerable since it exists in the different forms of the reports of the same narrator. Distortion in such reports, even

said by an ordinary chief of a group, is decisively considered; therefore, we should never accept such reports that assert the Holy Prophet's foretelling the coming of unknown men, especially if we take in consideration the stage and place of addressing that prediction.

The main accusation is the distortion of the identity of those Twelve Imāms. The accused is none other than those who may gain advantage from hiding the names and descriptions of the promised ones. It is the ruling authorities who came to power just after the Holy Prophet and banished his progeny from the field of competition by holding a secret meeting while the Holy Prophet's family were engaged in his funeral. A fair searcher may approach the fact by conceiving that divergence and contrast in the forms of these narrations are focused on a definite point, which is the descriptions, identity, divine standing, lineage, age and period of those promised Imāms. This matter incites doubtfulness of all the forms of the narrations depended by Sunni reference books of Ḥadīth. On the other hand, it involves the authentication of the concordant unanimous forms of the narration accredited by Shiite reference books of Ḥadīth. All these forms have asserted the same matter; those Twelve Imāms will be his progeny, and more definitely, they are 'Alī, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn and nine men from al-Ḥusayn's offspring.

(9) The Twelve Imāms are not Nominated According to Means of Election and Homage

This fact is indisputable; since the Lord has chosen them for leadership, people's obligation should be only to comply with them. Allāh says, "*And it behooves not a believing man and a believing woman that they should have any choice in their matter when Allāh and His Messenger have decided a matter.*" Those Imāms acquire their legality from the Lord—the All-wise and the All-aware of His servants' good. Positively, the Lord's choice is more prosperous and obligatory than His servants' are. Like the selection of Prophets that has not necessitated election or homage, the Twelve Imāms are selected by the Lord

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and, accordingly, to obey them is a divine duty. Similarly, even if people ignore, injure or kill a Prophet, this should never harm his being divinely chosen and obligatorily conformed. People's general compliance with a Prophet is no more than an acknowledgment of the obligatory obedience to him, which is divinely commissioned, and is a declaration of corresponding to the Lord's instructions. On that account, people's homage to the Prophets and their successors is a process of submission and obligation to those persons' right of adherence. People should confirm that right only. They never constitute it. This is the main reason beyond the Holy Prophet's ordering Muslims to pay homage to him in the most important curve in his nation's history so that he would confirm their obligatory obedience to him in good and bad, war and peace, and favorable and detrimental circumstances.

For the same reason, the Holy Prophet, having conveyed the divine commandment of 'Alī's coming leadership in Ghadīr Khumm, ordered to establish a tent under which 'Alī would receive all Muslims who should offer him congratulations on this divine leadership, before they pay homage to him. The divine choice has fallen and it does not require a public consultancy or homage. It only requires admission and congratulations. However, such homage would be obligatory upon people if the Holy Prophet or 'Alī asked them to do. For this cause, it is pointless to say that the Holy Prophet asked Muslims only to offer congratulations, not homage, since the issue of the divine commandment of nominating 'Alī for the next leadership evacuated the public homage from its effective power and, in the same time, restricted its value to admitting and committing to that divine commandment whenever the Holy Prophet or his successor asked for it.

The general rule in this regard is that people may have the option to choose their leaders and rulers -according to the boundaries of the Islāmic legislation- only in case there is no previous divine commandment appertained to this point. In case the Lord has elected a leader, then the whole matter is settled and none has the authority to change or alter. In other words,

the choice of the public is meaningless unless they intend to philosophize before their Glorified Lord or oppose His instructions.

(10) The Narration's Dedication to Quraysh has been Thrown Away by 'Umar

There is an important notice in this regard; 'Umar ibn al-Khattāb was the bearer of the slogan that the Holy Prophet's succession should be dedicated to Quraysh exclusively. In Saqīfah, 'Umar disputed Anṣār that people of Quraysh, the Holy Prophet's tribe, were the worthiest of holding his position and authority. He aimed at intercepting Anṣār, in whose land and hospitality Muslim Qurayshites lived, from claiming their being the worthiest of holding the Holy Prophet's position and power since they were his supporters. By such a tribal disputation, 'Umar took the round of Saqīfah, due to Anṣār's discord despite the heavy protestation of Sa'd ibn 'Abādah, their chief.

It was 'Umar himself who abandoned and threw away the very principle through which he could obtain the leadership of Muslims. In his final hours, 'Umar asserted that he would have delivered the leadership to Sālim; the Persian slave of Abū-Hudhayfah, had this man been alive!

The following is quoted from *Tārīkh al-Madīnah* 3/140:

'Abdullāh ibn Buraydah reported that people advised 'Umar, while he was in his final hours, to nominate his successor. He said, 'Had one of those two men been alive, I would have certainly delivered him this position with quite tranquility and satisfaction—Abū-'Ubaydah ibn al-Jarrāḥ or Sālim the slave of Abū-Hudhayfah!'¹

'Umar thus opened the door to Abū-Ḥanīfah and others to cancel the term that a leader of the Islāmic State should belong

¹ Also, *Majma' al-Zawā'id* 4/220.

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to the tribe of Quraysh. Saljukians and Mamluks used such verdicts to come to power. For the very reason, the Ottomans adopted and publicized Abū-Ḥanīfah's school of jurisprudence and, as a result, named themselves as 'caliphs' -successors of the Holy Prophet-.

Wahhābīsm and the Condition of Belonging to Quraysh

We—the Shī'ah Imāmiyyah¹ specify being one the Ahl al-Bayt as a term of holding the leadership of the Islāmic State. Many authenticated Ḥadīths about the names, as well as number, of those leaders have proven this term. For us, the leadership should be proved by a Divine text only. Hence, the Twelve Imāms are testified by the Holy Qur'ān and Sunnah. Since the seal of the Imāms, al-Mahdi the Expected, is now absent, yet by appearance only, the leadership of Muslims in this stage should be determined by his commitment. The Imām's representative should enjoy a number of qualifications, such as knowledgeability, justice and others. However, it is not a condition that the representative being a descendant of Quraysh. In this point only, we agree practically, not hypothetically, with those who cancel the condition that a leader of the ummah should belong to Quraysh. Shī'ah Zaydiyyah² do not dedicate Imāmate to those Twelve Imāms. they extend it to include any scholar belonging, in lineage, to Imām 'Alī and Lady Fāṭimah al-Zahrā'. They hence specify being a Qurayshite and Alawid as a term of holding the position of leadership of the ummah.

Among Sunni Muslims, some scholars have agreed with us on this point depending upon verdicts of 'Umar and Abū-Ḥanīfah. Other non-Arab Sunnis are more fanatic to Quraysh than 'Umar himself. They are the masters of Wahhābism, such as al-Albānī

¹ The Shī'ah Imāmiyyah are those who believe in the Twelve Imāms as the divinely commissioned leaders of the ummah to be followed.

² Shī'ah Zaydiyyah are those who believe Zayd ibn 'Alī ibn al-Ḥusayn as the Imām to be followed after his father, Imām Zayn al-'Ābidīn.

who decides the authenticity of the narration reporting the condition that a leader of the ummah must belong to Quraysh. He numbers this narration as 1552 and comments on it in 5/70:

If Muslims are honest enough to work for reviving the glories of the Islāmic State, they should repent to their Lord and keep hold on their religion and follow the rulings of the Shari'ah. Among these rulings is the condition that a leader of the ummah must belong to Quraysh. This condition is familiarly unanimous in books of Ḥadīth and fiqh –Islāmic jurisprudence-.

In 3/7, he decides the authenticity of a report telling that it is obligatory for a leader of the ummah to belong to Quraysh. He numbers this report as 1006 and then comments:

These authentic narrations refute, clearly, the claims of the old deviate parties, as well as the present authors and Islāmic politicians, who invalidate the term that a leader of the ummah must belong to Quraysh and the Arabs.

Moreover, a radical scholar, in a thesis entitled 'The Islāmic State' begins with specifying the terms of a caliph. He ignores totally the term that a leader must belong to Quraysh and the Arabs and thus takes no notice of all Ḥadīths and verdicts that authentically emphasize on this term. When I reminded him of this flaw, he just smiled and escaped any discussion. I wonder if he is one of those previously cited or lacking any subjective knowledge in this respect. At any rate, each writer is required to seek the right in his writings without being influenced by any political trend. A writer also should disregard the accordance with the publics.

Under number 1851, al-Albānī decides the authenticity of another report telling that, 'Caliphate must exclusively be to people of Quraysh, judiciary must be to Anṣār and propagation must be to the Abyssinians.' According to this verdict, the leaders of the Muslim governments should belong to any clan of Quraysh, and their ministers should be the descendants of Anṣār and the ministers of religious affairs and information

should be from Africa or, more specifically, from Ethiopia! The 'musts' mentioned in the previous narration, due to which al-Albānī issues the verdict that rulers must belong to Quraysh, treat the positions of leadership, ministration and propagations equally. Al-Albānī, however, misses the fact that jurisprudence of a narration is more important than the contents. The Holy Prophet is too elevated to issue such illogic laws. This narration and its likes, if authenticated, reveals a definite previous stage of Islām. It is not a perpetual law at all.

(11) Exegetes Blunder in the interpretation of the Twelve Imāms

To be honest to the Ḥadīth, it is necessary to say that these Twelve Imāms should come directly after the Holy Prophet's decease. This necessitation comes from the Holy Prophet's phrase 'after me.' However, the Ḥadīth does not include any indication that those Twelve would rule after the Holy Prophet directly; it only foretells about their coming, whether leaders or not. Furthermore, the aforementioned forms of Jābir and Ibn Mas'ūd's narrations claim that those Imāms would be disappointed and opposed by people as they would be taken away from their positions. This matter, as texts divulge, would not injure them.

In al-Ṭabarānī's *al-Mu'jam al-Kabīr*, the following forms are cited:

'For this nation, there will be Twelve Custodians who will never be influenced by those who will frustrate them.'

'From Quraysh, there will be Twelve Custodians who will never be injured by the enmity of their opposites.'

This involves that nothing stops against applying these forms to the Twelve Imāms of the Ahl al-Bayt, even if they could not come to power. However, Imām 'Alī and Imām al-Ḥasan could come to power. Eventually, Imām al-Mahdi; the Expected, will be ruling, as predicted by the Holy Prophet—al-Mahdi's

forefather. Furthermore, many narrations have predicted the events to take place after the ages of those Imāms indicating that they would last for long ages. Some narrations have mentioned that confusion, bafflement and hypocrisy, which would lead to general collapse of the ummah, would take place after their ages. Others have confirmed that their age should last as long as this earth exists and that with their termination, the earth would founder with its creatures. Hypotheses of the extension of the Imāms' age to the termination of this earth confirm the previous predictions, according to a number of Shiite narrations.

Abū-Ṣalāḥ al-Ḥalabi, in *Taqrīb al-Ma'ārif*/173, relates the following:

... Anas ibn Mālik narrated that the Holy Prophet stated, 'This religion will prevail as long as there will be Twelve Men from Quraysh. If they pass away, the earth will perish with its inhabitants.'

This is also accordant to the narrations recorded in our reference books of Ḥadīth regarding the special importance of the existence of the Lord's Representatives on this earth in all ages. Listen to the following reports:

Al-Kāfi; 1/179 and 534:

Abū-Ḥamzah narrated the following: I asked Abū-'Abdullāh [Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq] if the earth might proceed to exist without the existence of one of the Imāms. 'If the earth may stand without the existence of one of the Imāms, it will certainly perish,' answered Abū-'Abdullāh.

Correspondingly, the Holy Prophet's aim beyond providing the question of the next Twelve Imāms in the most remarkable congruity of Muslims attending the Farewell Ḥajj was to attract

¹ Also, *A'lām al-Warā* 364.

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people's attentions towards those Imāms, had they only been lucky and followed them! Furthermore, it is most likely to refer to the Twelve Imāms of the Ahl al-Bayt as the only ones intended by the Holy Prophet's prediction. Any other reference is unacceptable for many refuting questions.

Al-Kinjī, in *Yanābī' al-Mawaddah* 446, records the following:

A number of scholars have said that the Holy Prophet's prediction of the Twelve Successors is proved by numerous ways of relation. By identifying the ages and investigating the place, the Holy Prophet's prediction refers to the Twelve Imāms of his household. It is impracticable to refer to the rulers who came to power as being intended in the prediction, since their number is less than twelve. In addition, it is impossible to refer to the Umayyad rulers because they were more than twelve and they were excessive unjust and tyrants saving 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-Azīz. Besides, they were not Hāshimites. According to 'Abd al-Malik's narration, which is related to Jābir, the Holy Prophet foretold that those Imāms would belong to Hāshim. The Holy Prophet's lowering his voice gives greater weight to this narration since the Umayyad rulers were too short to resemble the Hāshimites in leadership. At length, it is impracticable to identify the 'Abbāsīd kings as the rulers intended. Their number exceeds twelve. Secondly, they did not revere Almighty Allāh's saying, 'Say: I do not ask of you any reward for it but love for my near relatives,' and the Holy Prophet's Ḥadīth of Kisā' -the cloak-. Likewise, to refer to the Twelve Imāms of the Ahl al-Bayt as the intended in that Prophetic prediction is the most suitable since they have been the most knowledgeable, the most religious, the godliest and the most pious. Moreover, they have been of the best lineage and the best family. They are the most favorable to the Lord... The Ḥadīth of the Two Weighty Things as well as the innumerable Ḥadīths regarding their merits support this meaning. In *Nahj al-Balāghah*, 'Alī, Allāh may honor his face, says, 'Where are those who claimed being exclusively rooted in knowledge? It is we

who are firmly rooted in knowledge. They claim such a fabrication due to their envying us, since Allāh has raised us and humiliated them, and endowed us and withheld them, and admitted us and dismissed them... By us, the guidance is sought and by us, blindness is discharged. After me, there will come to you an age during which nothing will be more hidden than the right and nothing will be more evident than the wrong and nothing greater than forging lies against Allāh and His Messenger. For people of that age, there will be nothing more slumping than the Divine Book when written in the most appropriate form, and there will be nothing more profitable than distorting it. In the lands, there will be nothing more forbidden than the good and nothing more acceptable than evil. Be it known to you that you will not realize the right guidance unless you realize its neglecters and you will not keep the covenant of the Divine Book unless you realize its violators and you will not adhere to it unless you realize its scorers. Therefore, look for that with its real people. They are the life of knowledge and the death of ignorance. It is they whose wisdom tells of their knowledge, whose silence tells of their eloquence and whose appearance tells of their hidden. They never transgress the religion nor do they engage themselves in discrepancies about it. Among them, the religion is an incessant, honest witness and silent and speaking.'

Unfortunately, majority of Sunni scholars have rejected this explanation and warned their followers against being convinced by Shi'ah's claiming that the intended men in the Holy Prophet's prediction are the Twelve Imāms of his progeny. They confess before their partisans that the prediction is wholly authentic, but you should never accept Shi'ah's explanation since we, Allāh willing, will find an authentic one day! Up to now, Sunnis could not provide any persuasive explanation to the Holy Prophet's prediction. They attempted to apply the Twelve Imāms to the caliphs who ruled after the Holy Prophet. They referred to the four Rashidite caliphs (namely, Abū-Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān, and 'Alī), 'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr, and series of kings of the descendants of Abū-Sufyān, Marwān and the

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'Abbāsids... etc. They may refer to the Umayyad rulers who ruled Andalusia, Saljukians, Mamluks and Ottomans...etc.

When they feel that the number exceeded the intended one, they turn their faces towards hypotheses and pick up the best of the Umayyad and 'Abbāsīd caliphs for giving them the characteristics of the Holy Imāms. They decide some names and reject others in such a personal way purposed only for befitting the number predicted. As others could not attain the number involved, they claim of coming rulers. Most surely, such applications would never stop or rely upon a ground, and to adopt them is impossible because it is trivial to have the competency of choosing twelve leaders among tens and to claim their being godly leaders selected by the Exalted Lord and predicted by the Holy Prophet.

For the following reasons, Sunni scholars should have not born such an unattainable task:

First, in view of the fact that those promised Holy Imāms are selected by the Lord, they should be having the same path and goal. They should lead to the same path supported by the guidance of the Lord and His Messenger. The leaders chosen by Sunni scholars were so discordant that they fought each other. It is completely impossible for Prophets or divinely selected leaders to fight each other or to assail, rule of aberrance or atheism, slay or cut the limbs of each other. A view at the history of the struggle for power between the Umayyad and the 'Abbasid rulers refutes the Sunni presuppositions.

Second, Sunni scholars have to ascribe some qualities to the rulers, while those rulers did not ascribe such qualities to themselves. In other words, none of the rulers whom Sunni scholars listed under the title of being intended by the Holy Prophet's prediction have ever claimed being holy or divinely selected for leadership. Had any of them been a holy Imām and selected by the Lord as a representative or ruler, they themselves would have referred to this elevated standing for, at least, having pride in it. It is impossible for anyone to be holy

and selected while he does not know! None of those caliphs claimed being selected by the Lord, while the Imāms of the Ahl al-Bayt have always confirmed that they are holy and divinely selected.

Third, we have already referred to the point that the Holy Prophet did not mention that those Imāms should rule or come to power after him. Therefore, it is unnecessary for Sunni scholars to commit themselves to opting for the Twelve Promised Imāms from among the rulers only. Being bound by an unnecessary question will lead to engagement in an unanswerable matter.

Fourth, most of those recorded in the list of the divinely selected -and predicted- Imāms are actually accursed by the Holy Prophet. How is it then admissible for the Lord to be represented by individuals that His Messenger accursed on many occasions? Similarly, how is it acceptable for the Exalted Lord to curse individuals and dismiss them from His mercy, for their wickedness, and then He selects them or their sons as holy Imāms whose mission is to guide His servants and rule His lands?

In Sunni reference books of Ḥadīth, it is authentically narrated that the Holy Prophet cursed al-Ḥakam and his son, Marwān, and banished them out of al-Madīnah until the reign of `Uthmān who violated the Holy Prophet's decision. It is also recorded that the Holy Prophet cursed Abū-Sufyān and his two sons when he saw them driving a camel.¹ In fact, this is a long material full of witnesses and evidences. Yet, the partisans of the Umayyad State cannot stand it and, therefore, we would better leave it. For the previous reasons, Sunni scholars had more than thirty contrary sayings about the identification of the Twelve Holy Imāms predicted by the Holy Prophet. It seems that the foremost saying in this regard is that of Abū-Ḥātam ibn Ḥabbān, which is recorded in *`Awn al-Ma`būd fī Sharḥ Sunan*

¹ *Majma' al-Zawā'id* 1/113.

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Abī Dāwūd 11/361. This Umayyad scholar is repealed by the scholars who have worshipped the `Abbāsīd State. They have added some of the `Abbāsīd caliphs to the Promised Imāms and deleted some, if not all, of the Umayyad rulers. This saying noticeably erases the name of al-Mahdī from the list while he is promised by many Ḥadīths authenticated by Sunni scholars themselves. Besides, al-Mahdī is included in the Holy Prophet's famous saying, 'After me, there will come Twelve Imāms.' They have also erased the name of Imām al-Ḥasan who ruled for six months and all Muslims, except the Syrian people, paid homage to him. The later scholars, however, have added his name to the list of the Twelve Imāms.

Since the Holy Prophet said that al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn have been Imāms whether they declare jihād or choose peace, those scholars should have added their names to the list. On the other hand, ibn Ḥabbān's supposition adds the name of Yazīd ibn Mu`āwiyah in the list and considers him as holy Imām about whom the Holy Prophet foretold! This standing is not expected by Yazīd himself or even his sane adorers who, incessantly, have spared no effort to prove his being Muslim and not apostate, though he himself confessed of apostasy on many occasions. They have also exerted all efforts to convince people that Yazīd was not deviant, since he had committed those awful crimes at Karbalā`, abused al-Madīnah and its people and gave orders to demolish the Ka`bah—the Sacred House of Allāh. They have also included the name of Mu`āwiyah ibn Yazīd (Mu`āwiyah II) whom was given the leadership after his father. This man addressed only a unique sermon in which he acquitted himself from the evildoings of his father and grandfather and declared that leadership had been a legal right of Imām `Alī, and that Mu`āwiyah had wronged him and usurped his right. Finally, he declared abdication and, as a result, the Umayyad individuals assassinated him. Had this man realized his being one of the Twelve Promised Imāms, he would not have abdicated power and exposed himself to be assassinated by his the tyrant royal family. Likewise, this supposition is contrary to Safīnah's narration about restricting the Holy Prophet's succession (i.e. caliphate) to thirty years that would be followed

by despot kingships. Scholars have authenticated this narration. To follow up the scholars' words about this Ḥadīth takes very much time; yet, the similarity of their words makes it easier. All of their words, in fact, have been going round the pivot of the pro-Umayyad interpretation. The following are models of their words and answers:

Al-Suyūṭī's *Tārīkh al-Khulafā'* 10:

'Ayyād the judge says: Probably, the Twelve Men mentioned in Ḥadīths are only those during whose reigns authority has been well preserved, Islām well protected and congruity well kept. Hence, these affairs were achieved until the disorder and sedition that took place in the reign of al-Walīd ibn Yazīd that continued to the revolution of the 'Abbāsids who killed the Umayyads.

Ibn Ḥajar comments: The words of 'Ayyād are the best and the most preferable in this regard. They are supported by the Holy Prophet's saying, 'All -of those Twelve Men- will be unanimously admitted by people.' This narration is related to some authentic series of narrators.

(Al-Suyūṭī comments) Accordingly, the Twelve Successors are identified—the four Rashidite caliphs, al-Ḥasan, Mu'āwiyah, 'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr, and 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-Azīz. These are eight. Probably, al-Muhtadī, the just 'Abbāsīd caliph, is included since he was as same as 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-'Azīz. The two Expected men remain. One of them is al-Mahdī, the offspring of Muḥammad.

Al-Suyūṭī and ibn Ḥajar have depended upon the statement, 'All will be unanimously admitted by people,' though it is additional and unproven remark. Al-Albānī the Wahhābīst and many others have decided the statement as doubtful. Besides, they have violated Safīnah's narration, which is completely authentic in their view. In this narration, the Holy Prophet defines the period of thirty years as his succession. Accordingly, eleven rulers in a period of thirty years will be the required and the process of selecting among the Umayyad and

the `Abbāsīd rulers will be void. Furthermore, al-Suyūṭī's reference to the words of Ibn `Ayyāḍ and Ibn Ḥajar have been not accurate. Ibn Ḥajar's words in which he named the first twelve Umayyad rulers as the holy Imāms have been neglected. 'The Twelfth one is al-Walīd ibn Yazīd ibn `Abd al-Malik,' ibn Ḥajar decides. Meanwhile, al-Suyūṭī stops at eight Umayyad rulers only and adds two `Abbāsīd ones. The errors committed by al-Suyūṭī in the field of his dishonest excerpt of ibn Ḥajar's words are evidently shown in the following sections quoted from *Fath al-Bāri*:

Ibn Baṭṭāl, on the authority of ibn al-Muhallab, says:

No single scholar could ever give a definite opinion in this regard. Some scholars however have claimed that the Twelve Promised Successors would come in succession while others have claimed that they would be in the same time, each proclaiming leadership. The most accepted saying in this regard is that the Holy Prophet only wanted to refer to the coming vicissitudes when people would follow twelve men, each claiming leadership, in the same time. Supporting this supposition is that the Holy Prophet did not mention any of these twelve leaders' actions.

[Ibn Ḥajar commenting] The previous words show that the writer has ignored the various ways of narration and stopped on the briefed form recorded in al-Bukhārī's (*al-Ṣaḥīḥ*). We have formerly referred to the different forms of the narration as recorded by Muslim and others, in which it is said that Islām would be fortified and mighty. In other forms, it is said that people, unanimously, would obey those successors.

Abū-Dāwūd records the following on authority of Jābir ibn Samarah: (The Holy Prophet said) 'This religion will be perpetually kept until the end of the ruling of Twelve Leaders whom will be followed by people unanimously.'

[Ibn Ḥajar commenting] al-Ṭabarānī records this form, too, and relates it to al-Aswad ibn Sa`īd on the authority of Jābir ibn Samarah, with the following addition: 'They

will not be injured by the malicious ones.' `Ayyād summarizes this perplexity. Two questions are arisen from the number defined in the Holy Prophet's saying:

First, the saying is contradicted by the extrinsic meaning of Safīnah's narration admitted and authenticated by grand Ḥadīthists, such as Ibn Ḥabbān and others. The narration says, 'For thirty years after me, there will be my succession. It will be followed by monarchy.' These thirty years were ruled by the four Rashidite caliphs and al-Ḥasan ibn `Alī.

Second, more than twelve rulers came to power after the Holy Prophet.

As an answer to the first question, it may be said that the succession intended in Safīnah's narration is the Holy Prophet's, while in Jābir ibn Samarah's narration, this is not proposed. About the second, the Holy Prophet's form does not stand out against the fact that more than twelve men would be ruling, since the number mentioned leads to peculiarity of persons, lest the intended ones are the just rulers who are the worthiest of this position. Four of them have passed away. The others will indisputably come before the Judgment Day. Other forms say that those Twelve will come and each will be followed by a group of people. This thing took place in Andalusia in the fifth century (after Hijra) when six men, each claimed leadership, rose in the same time and, meanwhile, the ruler of Egypt, the `Abbāsīd ruler in Baghdad, the other `Alawīd and Kharijite leaders—all were claiming leadership of the ummah. This explanation is also supported by Muslim's narration, 'There will be numerous leaders.'

At any rate, it is probable that the Twelve Ones intended would rule in the golden period of Islām. This meaning is supported by some forms of the Ḥadīth, such as, 'All will be unanimously followed by people.' Up to al-Walīd ibn Yazīd's reign when people were engaged in seditious matters, people followed the caliphs unanimously. The

disorder however lasted until the 'Abbāsids came to power and massacred the Umayyads and, correspondingly, the number was attained. After all, there are other probabilities.

[Ibn Hajar] Al-Muhallab opts for the second probability—the Twelve Rulers would come at the same time. Previously, we have answered this question. Their coming in the same time is sufficiently enough to prove their animosity; therefore, their unanimity would not be active. The following narration opposes Abū-Dāwūd's inaccuracy:

Aḥmad and al-Bazzār relate the following on the authority of ibn Mas'ūd: We asked the Holy Prophet about the number of his successors, and he answered, 'They will be twelve, just like the Israelite leaders.' [This is a qualified Ḥadīth with a rather doubtful narrator.]

In *Kashf al-Mushkil*, Ibn al-Jawzī says: 'I spared no efforts to scrutinize this various-formed Ḥadīth, but, unfortunately, I could not attain a convincing answer. Undoubtedly, the narrators have caused this confusion. Later on, I noticed al-Khattābī refer to an opinion that I have recently decided. Besides, Abū al-Ḥasan ibn al-Munādi and others had their own opinions.'

This refers to the incidents that took place after the reign of the Holy Prophet and his companions, since both are interrelated. This is a signal to the number of the Umayyad caliphs. This is the meaning of his saying, 'This religion will be kept fortified until the end of the ruling of Twelve Successors.' Then, he moves to a more rigorous characteristic.

The Umayyads begin with Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah and end with Marwān al-Ḥimār (the donkey). They are thirteen. 'Uthmān, Mu'āwiyah and Ibn al-Zubayr are omitted since they were Ṣaḥābah. Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam is also omitted since it is doubtful whether he was Ṣaḥābah or not, or since he overcame after people had been unanimously following 'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr. On that account, the

number is concordant. As the Umayyads lost their control over power, seditious matters and massacres took place until the `Abbāsids could rule. Thus, manners came into a new stage. This opinion is supported by the narration recorded by Abū-Dāwūd and related to Ibn Mas`ūd: 'The hand-mills of Islām will come around for thirty five -or six or seven- years. If people perish, they will pursue their formers. If their religion is constituted, this will last for no more than seven years.'¹ This opinion is repudiated by the fact that the stability of the Umayyad reign lasted for more than ninety years, since it began in AH 41 when Mu`āwiyah came to power unanimously until the beginnings of AH 132 when Marwān ibn Muḥammad was assassinated.

In the volume (of his book) in which he compiles reports regarding al-Mahdī, Abū al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Munādī supposes that the Twelve Imāms would come after the ruling of al-Mahdī. He adds, 'In the book of Prophet Daniel, I could find the following: When al-Mahdī will be deceased, five men from the offspring of the elder grandson will rule after him. They will be succeeded by five men from the offspring of the younger grandson. Their last will nominate a man from the offspring of the elder grandson as his successor. His son will come to power after him. They will be twelve kings, each al-Mahdī.' Abū-Ṣāliḥ relates the following narration to ibn `Abbās:

'Al-Mahdī's name is Muḥammad ibn `Abdullāh. He will be a giant reddish man. By him, Allāh will relieve every misfortune from this ummah. His justice will dismiss every wrong. After him, twelve men will rule; six from al-Ḥasan's offspring and five from al-Ḥusayn's. The last will be from another lineage. When he is deceased, matters will be corrupted.'

¹ Al-Albānī, and none else, has decided the authenticity of this narration.

Ka`b al-Aḥbār says, "There will be Twelve Mahdis. Afterwards, the Spirit of Allāh (i.e. Prophet Jesus) will descend to kill the Anti-Mahdi."¹

Another probability is that the intended ones are twelve just rulers who will come along the period of Islām, no matter their reigns will be successive or not. This opinion is supported by Abu'l-Jald's narration related by Abū-Baḥr and recorded in Musaddad's *al-Musnad al-Kabīr*:

"This Ummah will not be perished before the ruling of Twelve Successors who will act by the Divine guidance and the right belief. Two of them will be from Muḥammad's household, one will live for forty years while the other for thirty."

Likewise, the disorder intended to prevail thereafter is the incidents to precede the Judgment Day, such as the coming of the Anti-Mahdī and Gog and Magog until the end of this world. These have been the words of Ibn al-Jawzī in brief.

(Ibn Ḥajar states) The first and last opinions have been previously discussed by `Ayyād, though it seems that Ibn al-Jawzī has not reviewed them.

From the previous discussion, a number of opinions can be noticed. The third, however, is the most acceptable since it is supported by the authentic forms of the narration containing the phrase, 'All will be unanimously followed by people.' Unanimity, in the previous phrase, means that everybody would submit to the leadership of those Twelve Imāms. People, in fact, obeyed the leadership of Abū-Bakr, `Umar, `Uthmān and `Alī respectively, until the incident of the two arbiters in Siffin. As a result, Mu`āwiyah was nominated as the caliph. After the armistice of al-Ḥasan, people followed Mu`āwiyah. They followed Yazīd afterwards. Al-Ḥusayn

¹ The Anti-Mahdi is as same as the Antichrist who is a great personal opponent of Christ, expected to appear before the end of the world.

could not attain leadership since he was killed before that. After Yazīd, disorder emerged and lasted until the assassination of Ibn al-Zubayr and the ruling of `Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān. His four sons (namely, al-Walīd, Sulaymān, Yazīd and Hushām) were followed by people unanimously. `Umar ibn `Abd al-Azīz could come to power after Sulaymān and before Yazīd. Those are seven rulers after the four Rashidite Caliphs. The twelfth is al-Walīd ibn Yazīd ibn `Abd al-Malik who was unanimously followed by people after the death of Hushām, his uncle. He ruled for about four years. Then, people mutinied and killed him. Since then, seditious matters came forth. People did not follow a single caliph after that. Yazīd ibn al-Walīd who rebelled against al-Walīd ibn Yazīd could not control leadership for a considerable time. Marwān ibn Muḥammad ibn Marwān revolted against Yazīd. Ibrāhīm, who came to power after Yazīd, was defeated by Marwān. finally, the `Abbāsids revolted and could kill Marwān.

In addition to the great number of the groups who mutinied against Abu'l-`Abbās al-Saffāḥ the first `Abbāsīd caliph, he could not control power for long. Al-Manṣūr, his brother, grasped power for a long time despite that he lost the furthest west of his kingdom as it was controlled by the offspring of Marwān in Andalusia. They controlled these territories until they were formally nominated as caliphs. This was followed by a disorder all over the kingdom when the caliph became no more than a name in some territories. This is quite opposite to the reign of `Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān when he controlled all the lands conquered by Muslims. A look at their history proves these facts.

In due course, the disorder intended in the Ḥadīth stands for the massacres committed due to these seditious incidents and, unfortunately, were increasing.

Al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Munādī's opinion is, indeed, not that clear since it is opposite to al-Ṭabarānī's following

narration related to Qays ibn Jābir al-Ṣudafī on the authority of his father:

“After me, there will be successors followed by rulers. Those rulers will be followed by kings whom will be followed by tyrants. Thereafter, a man from my household will approach. He will fill in the lands with justice as they were filled in with inequity. Then, son of Qaḥṭān will be given the orders. I swear by Him Who sent me with the right that he will not be less than him.”

This narration refutes Ibn al-Munādi’s narration quoted from the Book of Prophet Daniel. Likewise, Abū-Ṣāliḥ and Ka’b’s opinions are extremely untrue.

The most appropriate matter in this regard is to consider the actual meaning of ‘after’ mentioned in the Holy Prophet’s saying: “After me, there will be Twelve Successors.” Thus, all the rulers who succeeded the Holy Prophet were fourteen, beginning with al-Ṣiddiq (i.e. Abū-Bakr) and ending with ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-Azīz. Two of them were of illegal leadership and short reign. They were Mu’āwiyah ibn Yazīd and Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam. The others were twelve, as the Holy Prophet had predicted. ‘Umar ibn ‘Abd al-Azīz died in AH 101. After him, the affairs of the ummah were confused. Hence, the first century, which was the best, came to its end.

The Holy Prophet’s saying, ‘They will be unanimously followed by people,’ does not controvert this opinion, since it fits the majority. Excluding al-Ḥasan ibn ‘Alī and ‘Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr, all the caliphs met these qualifications. The leadership of these two men was legal. The worthiness (of leadership) of those who dissented them was still invalid until al-Ḥasan delivered it and ‘Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr was assassinated. Allāh, however, is the most knowledgeable.

Almost, the affairs of the State were normal during the reigns of these twelve leaders despite the fact that some irregular incidents had occurred. These irregular incidents, however, are rare if measured to the normal.

Ibn Ḥabbān, discussing the meaning of the narration that 'The handmills of Islām will come around...', states: "The narration refers to the Umayyads' leadership. The first point at which the Umayyads grasped the leadership of Muslims was during Mu'āwiyah's mutiny against 'Alī in Ṣiffīn and the arrangements of the arbitration. Since then, the Umayyads came to power for seventy years. In AH 106, the first waves of the 'Abbāsids appeared in Khurāsān... Ibn Ḥabbān discusses this point in such further details that he committed many errors. First, he claims the occurrence of the arbitration in the last days of AH 36. This is unlike what historians have agreed upon. In fact, the arbitration occurred a few months after the Battle of Ṣiffīn. That was in AH 37... etc.

From the above, we can obviously notice that Ibn Ḥajar opts for an opinion different from that al-Suyūṭī ascribed to him. Therewith, we should understand that al-Suyūṭī had not read all the words of Ibn Ḥajar; or we should decide that al-Suyūṭī had forged lies. We have also noticed the perplexity and great number of contrary probabilities they have shown during discussing the Holy Prophet's words about the Twelve coming Successors. Most of them have betaken the addition, 'they will be unanimously followed by people,' as an axis for their discussions. This addition, however, is not authentic. A good deal of scholars denied it. 'Ayyād decides nothing. He uses the idioms 'it is said' and 'it is probable' in referring to the different probabilities of interpreting the Ḥadīth. Ibn Ḥajar opts for the third probability. He says, 'The third probability discussed by 'Ayyād is the most acceptable...'

In abstract, scholars have led the readers to nowhere while they have done their bests to explain the Prophet's prediction, which is, for them, authentic and carrying the good tidings of the advent of twelve holy Imāms, guides and custodians in this nation. They have also insisted on suiting the saying to the Umayyad rulers, mixing it to an additional inauthentic and doubtful statement. Besides, the addition is meaningless and far away from the Holy Prophet's rhetoric.

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For more examples on their misguidance in finding an acceptable exegesis for the Holy Prophet's prediction, readers can kindly notice the book entitled *'Awn al-Ma'būd* 11/362-4.

Some scholars have stated that four of the Twelve Successors passed away. Before the Judgment Day, the number will be perfected. Others have claimed that those Twelve Imāms would come in the same time and that each would be followed by a group of people. Al-Turbashtī states that the only way to interpret this prediction and its likes is to consider the just leaders only, since those are the only persons who deserve to be named as caliphs. It is not necessary for them to be successive, lest the metaphorical meaning should be taken in consideration. The previous words are quoted from *al-Mirqāt*.

In *Qurrat al-'Aynayn fī Tafdīl al-Shaykhayn*, Waliyullāh, a master scholar, records:

A perplexity occurred during explaining the Holy Prophet's saying, 'This religion will be kept triumphed until Almighty Allāh conveys Twelve Successors from Quraysh.' The problem is that the saying is concordant to the Twelvers¹ who decide Twelve Imāms as their leaders.

Indisputably, the Holy Prophet's words are similar to the Qur'ānic texts that interpret each other. Ibn Mas'ūd, authentically, narrates, 'The handmills of Islām will be coming around for thirty five -or six or seven- years. If people perish, they will pursue their formers. If their religion is constituted, this will last for no more than seven years.'

Many mistakes have been committed during explaining this Prophetic saying. The following is our inferential conclusion:

¹ Twelvers are the (*Ithnā'ashariyyah*) Shi'ah who believe in the Twelve divinely commissioned Imāms.

This period begins with the second year of Hijra, which is the year of jihād. Accordingly, his prediction came true. In the thirty-fifth years of jihād, 'Uthmān's assassination befell and Muslims were engaged in discrepancies. Allāh the Exalted arranged Muslims' affairs afterwards and jihād continued until the coming of the 'Abbāsīd State and the eradication of the Umayyads...

Once, the Holy Prophet foretells about the succession of the prophecy, he dedicates thirty years. The next years are named 'despotic monarchy.' Once more, he foretells about his succession and names it 'the Twelve Successors'...

For attaining the result in this question, it is advisable to consider Mu'āwiyah, 'Abd al-Malik, his four sons, 'Umar ibn 'Abd al-Azīz and al-Walīd ibn Yazīd ibn 'Abd al-Malik after the four Rashīdite caliph.

It is said that Mālik; the master scholar, considers 'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr as worthier of leadership than others. We have our own opinion in this concern. 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb and 'Uthmān ibn Affān (Allāh please them) mentioned that 'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr's revolution and violation against the Holy Precinct should be one of the catastrophes in the ummah. Aḥmad reports this saying from Qays ibn Abī-Hazim:

As 'Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr asked 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb's permitting him to participate in the battle, the latter said, "Sit in your house! You have participated in the Holy Prophet's campaigns." But 'Abdullāh insisted until 'Umar said, "You should keep yourself in your house! By Allāh I swear, I see coming that your companions and you revolt in the borders of al-Madīnah and you will injure Muḥammad's companions." This narration is recorded by al-Ḥākim.

We can conceive that the Battle of the Camel is not intended in 'Umar's saying since he signified 'in the borders of al-Madīnah.'

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This very meaning was clarified in `Alī's words addressed in the story of the answer of al-Ḥasan. Hence, he could not manage the affairs of the state.

For the unsettlement of his reign and his ill manners, Yazīd ibn Mu`āwiyah cannot be added to the Twelve Successors.

Despite the fact that the author of *Qurrat al-`Aynayn* confesses that the Umayyad reign was despotic monarchy and their state was not the Holy Prophet's succession, he gives them a role in his interpretation of the saying. He applies the prediction of the Twelve Holy Imāms who are divine custodians on the ummah to the Umayyad tyrants. Secondly, he erases the names of al-Ḥasan ibn `Alī and al-Mahdī from the list. He also erases the name of `Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr while Mālik, the master scholar, and others have registered him.

At any rate, the man criticizes those who committed mistakes in interpreting the Ḥadīth. As he promises people to solve the problem, he makes it worse!

Hereinafter, we quote ibn Kathīr's words as recorded in *al-Bidāyah wa'l-Nihāyah* 3/248:

The Twelve expected Successors who will be from Quraysh are not those claimed by Rafidites.¹ Except for `Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib and al-Ḥasan, none of those rulers could attain Muslims' homage. The last of them is, as they claim, al-Mahdī the Expected who is hiding in a vault in Sāmarrā'. He has neither existence nor trace nor pace.

¹ According to Sunni definition, the Rafidites (Rejecters) are those who rejected the leadership of Abu-Bakr and `Umar after the Prophet's decease. However, the name is said to the Shī'ah in general and the Twelvers in particular. For the Shī'ah, this title is object of pride because, according to an authenticated narration reported from Imām Ja'far al-Sādiq (a.s), this title was first said to the believers of Egypt who followed Prophet Moses.

In fact, the Twelve predicted Successors are the four Imāms; Abū-Bakr, `Umar, `Uthmān and `Alī and `Umar ibn `Abd al-Azīz on whom the two parties of scholars agree.

Probably, Ibn Kathīr aims at the two opinions about the consecutive ruling of those successors. However, each party has many opinions and he has referred to some of them. Thereafter, he refers to the probabilities and focuses lights on al-Bayhaqī's discussions in this regard.

Al-Bayhaqī, supported by a group of scholars, adopts the opinion that the Twelve Successors are those who successively came to power after the Holy Prophet. Their seal is al-Walīd ibn Yazīd ibn `Abd al-Malik the villainous whose bad manners have been already discussed. This is problematic. To discuss it, we should say that the ruling of the first four caliphs; Abū-Bakr, `Umar, `Uthmān and `Alī are undiscussible on account of Safīnah's narration, "My succession will last for thirty years." After them comes al-Ḥasan ibn `Alī who nominated him as his successor. People of Iraq declared their loyalty to him and accompanied him in the fighting against people of Syria until he signed the truce with Mu`āwiyah. These incidents are proven by the narration of Abū-Bakrah in al-Bukhārī's *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*. Mu`āwiyah comes next. Yazīd ibn Mu`āwiyah, Mu`āwiyah ibn Yazīd, Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam, `Abd al-Malik ibn Marwān and al-Walīd ibn `Abd al-Malik come next successively. These are fifteen persons. Finally comes al-Walīd ibn Yazīd ibn `Abd al-Malik. Supposing `Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr's period of ruling before `Abd al-Malik is considered, they will be sixteen persons. Anyhow, before `Umar ibn `Abd al-Azīz, they are twelve. Accordingly, Yazīd ibn Mu`āwiyah is added and `Umar is taken out. All Muslims, including Rafidites, agree on the fact that `Umar ibn `Abd al-Azīz's reign was the best in justice. They praised him eminently and added him to the Rashidite caliphs.

Providing the leaders followed by people unanimously are considered, `Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib and his son should be

taken out. The Syrian refused to pay homage to these two men. Similarly, Mu`āwiyah, Yazīd ibn Mu`āwiyah, Mu`āwiyah ibn Yazīd, Marwān and `Abdullāh ibn al-Zubayr should not be considered for the same reason. On that account, Abū-Bakr, `Umar, `Uthmān, Mu`āwiyah, Yazīd ibn Mu`āwiyah, `Abd al-Malik, al-Walīd ibn Sulaymān, `Umar ibn `Abd al-Azīz, Yazīd and Hushām should be added. These are ten. They are followed by al-Walīd ibn Yazīd ibn `Abd al-Malik the villainous. This is however unacceptable since it leads to taking `Alī and al-Ḥasan, his son, out of those twelve predicted successors since it is contrary to Sunni as well as Shiite texts. Furthermore, it is contrary to Safīnah's narration, "For thirty years after me, there will be my succession. It will be followed by monarchy." Safīnah, besides, mentions in detail these thirty years. He defines the reigns of the four Rashidite caliphs. The six-month period of al-Ḥasan's reign is considered, too. After that, Mu`āwiyah began the monarchy when al-Ḥasan ibn `Alī delivered the leadership to him. This narration confirms the fact that Mu`āwiyah should not be described as caliph and that caliphate was sealed after the thirty year period. This does not deny the existence of the Rashidite caliphs thereafter. Jābir ibn Samarah's narration testifies this fact.

...Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamān stated, "After `Uthmān, there will be twelve kings from the sons of Umayyah." "They are caliphs, are they not?" they asked. "No, they are kings," answered Ḥudhayfah.

... Abu'l-Jald states, "This ummah will not be perished before the ruling of Twelve Successors who will act by the divine guidance and the right belief. Two of them will be from the household of Muḥammad, one living for forty years while the other for thirty."

Al-Bayhaqī then refutes Abu'l-Jald's words in unacceptable way and words. This is strange from al-Bayhaqī. A good deal of scholars agrees with Abu'l-Jald. His saying seems to be the most preferable among our opinions. The man was wont to read the ancient books.

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The meaning has been recorded in the Torah: "Allāh the Exalted foretold Abraham about the birth of Ishmael. He foretold that He would grow and increase his progeny and would choose twelve great persons from his offspring."¹

Ibn Kathīr refers to what is inscribed in the real Torah:

17:18 And Abraham said to Almighty Allāh, Oh that Ishmael might live before thee!

17:19 And Almighty Allāh said, Sarah thy wife will indeed bear thee a son; and thou shalt call his name Isaac; and I will establish my covenant with him, for an everlasting covenant for his seed after him.

17:20 And for Ishmael I have heard thee: behold, I will bless him, and will make him fruitful, and will very greatly multiply him; twelve princes will he beget, and I will make him a great nation.

17:21 But my covenant will I establish with Isaac, whom Sarah will bear to thee at this appointed time in the next year.

Instead of 'chief,' Ka'b al-Aḥbār translated the word into 'custodian.' Others translated it into 'Imāms.'

Hence, the text is in the Torah, Sunni's books and Shī'ah's books. It supports the good tidings of our Prophet (a.s). At any rate, it does not settle the problem of Sunni exegetes. On the contrary, it makes it more complicated.

Ibn al-'Arabi, the Mālikite, died in AH 543, is regarded as the smartest and fairest among Sunni exegetes. In *'Arīdat al-Aḥwadhī fī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Tirmidhī*, he admits that any application of the Holy Prophet's prediction takes to a dead-end

¹ This is an indication to Genesis, 17:20: "And for Ishmael I have heard thee: behold, I will bless him, and will make him fruitful, and will very greatly multiply him; twelve princes will he beget, and I will make him a great nation." Derby's Version of the Bible.

way. Hence, he confesses that there must have been an addition to the saying since the present text is meaningless.

Jābir ibn Samarah narrated that the Holy Prophet said, "After me, there will come twelve princes; all will be from Quraysh." This is an authentic Ḥadīth. As we consider the leaders who ruled after the Holy Prophet, we find the following: Abū-Bakr, `Umar, `Uthmān, `Alī, al-Ḥasan, Mu`āwiyah, Yazīd, Mu`āwiyah ibn Yazīd, Marwān, `Abd al-Malik, Marwān ibn Muḥammad ibn Marwān, al-Saffāḥ, al-Mansūr, al-Mahdi, al-Hādi, al-Rashīd, al-Amin, al-Ma`mūn, al-Mu`taṣim, al-Wāthiq, al-Mutawakkil, al-Muntaṣir, al-Musta`in, al-Mu`tazz, al-Muhtadi, al-Mu`taḍid, al-Muktafi, al-Muqtadir, al-Qāhir, al-Raḍi, al-Muttaqi, al-Mustakfi, al-Mutī`, al-Ṭā`i, al-Qādir, al-Qā`im and al-Muqtadi whom I caught in the year 484. He nominated al-Mustaḍhir as his heir apparent. He died in Muḥarram, 486. al-Mustaḍhir, however, nominated his son, Abū-Mansūr al-Faḍl as his heir apparent. That was in AH 495.

Supposing twelve of them are intended, the number will stop at Sulaymān ibn `Abd al-Malik. Regarding the meaning, we have only five persons; the four Rashidite caliphs and `Umar ibn `Abd al-`Azīz. Hence, I cannot perceive a definite meaning for the Ḥadīth. Probably, it is a part of a Ḥadīth.

From the above, we can conclude that Sunni scholars have spared no efforts for sake of applying the twelve men whom are promised in the Torah by Prophet Abraham and predicted by our Prophet (a.s) to the Umayyad rulers. As a matter of fact, they faced three principle unsolved problems:

First, the number of those (successors) is more than twelve. However, they confess that those men are not the Holy Prophet's successors. Hence, they had to face the waves of option and selection depending on no objective criterion.

Second, they feel that the divine apparel never fits their acquaintances and that their attempts to defend the acres of

those rulers who are not real successors of the Holy Prophet and covering up their deeds are nonsense since some of them committed fatal, hideous mistakes and ill deeds. Thus, it is impracticable to consider such persons as holy leaders and great custodians on this ummah that Almighty Allāh has foretold about their advent by the seal of His Prophets.

Third, by this claim, scholars place those rulers in a divine position they themselves did not claim. Hence, they became as same as that who claims somebody's prophethood while that somebody denies it.

Lastly, Sunni scholars warn their followers not to regard the Shiite scholars. They promise them to find, sooner or later, an exegesis more suitable than the Shī'ah's. Previously, we have seen how Sunni scholars could not forward a single step for finding a convincing exegesis for the Holy Prophet's prediction of the Twelve Imāms.

Sunnis have the right to ask their scholars for a persuasive interpretation for the Holy Prophet's authentic prediction of the coming of twelve holy Imāms who will be divinely directed and unique in knowledge, character and behavior, and will be custodians of the same guidance and trend.

In like manner, we are also rightful to depend on our own interpretation, which defines the Immaculate Imāms of the Ahl al-Bayt as the persons intended in the Holy Prophet's prediction. Those Imāms begin with 'Alī and end with al-Mahdī the Awaited. The Holy Prophet (a.s) said, "With us the Lord begins and with us He seals." Most truthful are the words of Allāh and His Messenger.

Scholars' Involvement in Safīnah's Narration

Safīnah is the servant of Umm-Salamah, the Holy Prophet's wife. Scholars have decided him as trustworthy in communicating the Holy Prophet's sayings. Like al-Bukhārī, a many Ḥadīthists depend on his narrations especially those

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related to the topic involved. The following is recorded by al-Tirmidhī in *al-Sunan* 3/341:

Sa`id narrated on the authority of Safinah that the Holy Prophet said, "In my nation, the succession will last for thirty years and will be followed by despotic monarchy."

Safinah commented, "If you account the reign of Abū-Bakr, `Umar, `Uthmān and `Alī, they are thirty years."

Sa`id commented, "The Umayyad rulers claim that they are the successors of the Holy Prophet."

Safinah answered, "Liars are the sons of that Zarqā` -blue lady-. They are kings, the most evil kings."

Under the same title, al-Tirmidhī records the following:

`Umar and `Alī said, "The Holy Prophet did not will anything about his succession (next leadership.)"

This narration is qualified but with a rather doubtful narrator. It is related by other than Sa`id ibn Jamhān, but we recognize it from this way only.

Aḥmad, in *al-Musnad* 5/220-1, records this narration although he cuts off the last two sentences regarding the Umayyads' reigns. Al-Ḥākim, in *al-Mustadrak* 3/71, decides its authentic documentation.

As he relates it in *al-Bidāyah wa'l-Nihāyah* 3/198, Ibn Kathīr records the following narration after it:

`Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī-Bakrah narrated that he heard the Holy Prophet saying, "For thirty years, there will be the succession of prophethood. After it, Almighty Allāh will give his monarchy to whomever He desires."

Mu`āwiyah commented, "We yield to the monarchy."

Supposing Safinah's narration is authentic, the Holy Prophet's prediction should be regarded as foretelling about this nation's deviation and illegality after thirty years. As long as the rulers

in the period of thirty years were not more than five persons, we understand that the Twelve Imāms should be others or, at least, they would not come to power. In other words, Safīnah's narration decides evidently the inaccuracy of considering the rulers as the twelve expected custodians. Unfortunately, majority of exegetes have been sick of cherishing the Umayyad rulers; therefore, they commit every contrasting act for sake of changing the Umayyad despotic monarchy into holy custody. Likewise, they have attempted to make the Umayyad tyrant and criminal rulers as divine Imāms predicted by the Holy Prophet.

As a support for our opinion, we say that Sunnis admit Safīnah's narration of defining the Holy Prophet's succession to thirty years. Safīnah himself explains the narration. He denies the Umayyads' being the Holy Prophet's successors. He describes them as kings; the most evil kings. He also accuses them of bastardy. He accuses them of being the illegitimate sons of a Roman prostitute (sons of that Zarqā'; the blue lady).

Despite, exegetes have decided the Umayyad rulers as holy leaders chosen by the Exalted Lord for leading this nation.

Some scholars, such as al-Albānī, aims at denying Safīnah's explanation of the narration. They decide it as an inauthentic redundancy. In the same manner, all the Umayyad rulers' savage deeds that filled the pages of history are not authentic in the view of such scholars.

In *'Umdat al-Qāri* 16/74, al-'Aynī records the following:

Providing some may claims that Safīnah's Ḥadīth opposes Jābir ibn Samarah's (The Prophet said, "This religion will be kept in efficacy and power to twelve successors from Quraysh...") that is recorded by Muslim, we say that this refers to the succession of prophesy. It does not mean that there are no others.

Others say that this prediction of the coming of twelve just Qurayshite rulers does not guarantee consecution. In thirty years after the Holy Prophet, this just leadership

fell. Many ages later, just caliphs, such as `Umar ibn `Abd al-`Aziz and al-Muhtadi, could take leadership. Al-Mahdi the Expected is within those promised successors.

For nothing more than defending the Umayyads, scholars have done their best in playing on words. They divide the legal succession into two types. The first is the succession of prophethood, which lasted for thirty years. The second is not a succession of prophethood, though legal. This non-Prophetic succession was promised by the Holy Prophet when he predicted the coming of twelve successors or Imāms!

The pro-Umayyad exegetes find their lost in this fabrication; therefore, they adhere to it since it enables them to play on the words of the Ḥadīth and make it applicable to their rulers!

Ibn Kathīr, in *al-Bidāyah wa'l-Nihāyah* 3/198, says:

As an answer for the question about the way of admitting Safinah's narration and that of Jābir ibn Samarah in the same time, we say: Some people claim that this religion is kept in efficacy and power until Twelve Successors who will hold the leadership. After that, confusion took place during the Umayyads' reigns. Others contradict the previous saying and allege that the Ḥadīth was a prediction of the coming of twelve just Qurayshite rulers, no matter they are successive or not. In a period of thirty years only, the consecutive succession of the Holy Prophet took place. After that, fair caliphs, such as `Umar ibn `Abd al-`Aziz, could come to power. A number of master scholars decide the decency of this man to the degree that they reckon him with the Rashidite caliphs. Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal says, "Except for `Umar ibn `Abd al-`Aziz, the opinion of none of Ṣaḥābah's followers is admitted." Al-Mahdi, the `Abbāsīd ruler, is one of those predicted successors. Al-Mahdī the Expected is also one of them, since he will be from the Ahl al-Bayt. He is named Muḥammad ibn `Abdullāh. He is not that one expected in a vault in Sāmarrā'. This one is originally not existed. Only the ill-minded Rafidites are awaiting him.

Hence, ibn Kathīr lacks any logical answer for the problem of Safīnah's narration. He ascribes the opinions to 'some' or 'others.' Had he only recorded Safīnah's narration completely as it is found in their reference books of Ḥadīth!

His praise for `Umar ibn `Abd al-`Azīz and a-Mahdī, the `Abbāsīd ruler, cannot be taken as evidence on their being within the expected holy successors, lest each praised man can be regarded. To regard a person with the predicted and promised men necessitates evident credentials proving his being one of those divine persons chosen by the Lord and given exclusively a standing unattainable by ordinary people.

The repetition of the Shī'ah's waiting for al-Mahdī, the Expected, in a vault in Sāmarrā' is a forged lie. Like him, we the Shī'ah expect al-Mahdī to come forth in Makkah. The vault of Sāmarrā' is no more than his grandfathers, fathers and his house, which is a blessed place where we pray to Allāh and seek blessings. Ibn Kathīr, however, is blabbermouth!

The following text is quoted from the footnote of *'Awn al-Ma'būd* 11/361:

Shaykh Ibn al-Qayyim says: As an answer for the question about the way of admitting Safīnah's narration, 'After me, the succession will last for thirty years,' and the prediction of the coming of Twelve Imāms, we say that the two narrations are not opposite since the thirty years of succession is the succession of prophethood. This is supported by Abū-Bakrah's narration.

Neither Ibn al-Qayyim nor could anyone else define the succession other than that of prophethood. Then, what a sort of succession was that? How should such a ruling carry a holy Islāmic characteristic after the Holy Prophet had described it as a despotic monarchy? The author of *Qurrat al-'Aynayn* and others have admitted this; their admitting the fact that the Umayyad reign was no more than a despotic monarchy and that it was not Islāmic in any means is an admission of its being a non-Islāmic despotic dominion. How is it then applicable for

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any sane to perceive that the Exalted Lord and His Messenger (a.s) carry the good tidings of the coming of non-Islāmic rulers who will injure the ummah by their despotic actions?

Had ibn Ḥabbān, ibn Ḥajar, Ibn al-Qayyim and their likes stopped their fanaticism for the Umayyad rulers, the matter would have been easier. Unfortunately, they insisted on using the Prophetic sayings for their support and aimed at applying the Holy Prophet's good tidings to their despotic kings.

Al-Albānī decides the authenticity of a good deal of Ḥadīths respecting the deviation of rulers coming to power after the Holy Prophet. Under number 2982, he decides the authenticity of the Ḥadīth that 'Some of my companions (Ṣaḥābah) will never see me again after my departure.'

Under number 2864, al-Albānī decides the authenticity of the Ḥadīth that 'After me, your affairs will be in the hands of men who will extinguish my traditions and inject heresies.'

The Ḥadīth, 'I am holding you from the necks so that you will not fall in Hellfire you are pushing yourselves in like butterflies and locust. I am about to fling your necks,' is given number 2865.

The Ḥadīth, 'A man from sons of Umayyah will be taking initiative in changing my traditions,' is authenticated by al-Albānī who lists it under number 1749 of title, 'The Holy Prophet's Prediction.' Al-Albānī commentates:

This Ḥadīth stands for the change that occurred to the Islāmic system from elections into monarchy. Allāh, however, is the most knowledgeable.

Under number 744, al-Albānī decides the authenticity of the Ḥadīth that "As soon as sons of al-Āṣ attain thirty, they will betake the Lord's religion as an instrument and the Lord's servants as slaves and the Lord's fortunes as personal treasures."

As he decides the authenticity of Safīnah's narration, al-Albānī numbers it 459 under the title, "The Succession of Prophecy."

Nevertheless, he defends the Umayyads, saying:

This does not oppose the coming of other caliphs since they are not the Holy Prophet's successors. Evidently, those only are intended by the Ḥadīth involved. This is supported by the following words of Shaykh al-Islām, 'It is acceptable to call those who came -to power- after the Rashidite caliphs as caliphs, though they were kings.'

Pursuing Ibn Taymiyah, al-Albānī rules that the Twelve holy Custodians about whom the Holy Prophet foretold are Mu'āwiyah, Yazīd and sons of al-Ḥakam ibn Abu al-Āṣ at whom tens of frank, decisive and authentic sayings of censure were addressed!

See how fanaticism in cherishing the Umayyads incites this man to put himself in a position deserving the Exalted Lord's censure and His Messenger's curse.

Such a person will not find an answer if an Orientalist addresses him that Muslims confess that their Lord and His Messenger are of fluctuating tempers! They curse, censure and condemn persons and then please them and declare before Muslims that those previously accursed persons and their offspring will be the choice among people and will be the divinely sinless custodians of this nation!

The wicked Orientalists, Salmān Rushdī, and his likes found themselves a hole for reviling at Islām through such false narrations respecting fanaticism to Quraysh, the Umayyads and Ka'b al-Aḥbār.

(12) Models of our narrations About the Twelve Imāms

In *al-Khiṣāl*, Shaykh al-Ṣadūq records the following on pages 466-7:

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Ibn Mas'ūd's narration is related in different ways of narration, all related to Mujālid ibn Sa'id. At any rate, in some ways, Mujālid ibn Sa'id is not mentioned.

...Qays ibn 'Abd narrated: We were sitting around 'Abdullāh ibn Mas'ūd when a Bedouin came and asked about him. "I am 'Abdullāh," answered he. "Did your Prophet tell you about the number of his successors?" asked the Bedouin. "Yes, he did. They are twelve, like the number of the Israelite disciples," answered 'Abdullāh.

In the same documentation, the narrations are recorded in *Kamāl al-Dīn wa Itmām al-Ni'mah*, 271.

Among the comparative objective writings, I can recognize the precious book of *Kifāyat al-Athar Alā al-A'imma al-Ithny'Ashar*, compiled by the mast scholar 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn 'Alī al-Khazzāz al-Qummī al-Rāzī; one of the scholars of the fourth century. This work is considered as the most remarkable in the field of Hadīths.

In the introductory of the book, the compiler defines his course. On page 7, he records:

The main reason that urged me to compile the narrators of the Ṣaḥābah and the Holy Prophet's truthful progeny about the texts dealing with the Immaculate Imāms is that I found some ordinary people of the Shī'ah perplexed in this regard. They doubted due to the firmness of the anthropomorphists and the Mu'tazilite who aimed at confusing their credits. The matter attained its climax when those people denied the divine texts regarding Imāmate. Some exceeded denying all the traditions of the Ṣaḥābah in this regard... Therefore, I committed myself to searching and presenting whatever evidences I can obtain. I intended to repeal the antagonists' heresies. Finally, I seek the Lord's rewarding and the satisfaction of the Holy Prophet and the Imāms.

First, let me mention the narrations dealing with this topic that are related to the famous Ṣaḥābah, such as 'Abdullāh

ibn `Abbās, `Abdullāh ibn Mas`ūd, Abū-Sa`id al-Khidrī, Abū-Dharr al-Ghifāri, Salmān al-Fārisi, Jābir ibn Samarah, Jābir ibn `Abdullāh, Anas ibn Mālik, Abū-Hurayrah, `Umar ibn al-Khattāb, Zayd ibn Thābit, Zayd ibn Arqam, Abū-Umāmah, Wāthilah ibn Al-Asqa, Abū-Ayyūb al-Anṣāri, `Ammār ibn Yāsir, Ḥudhayfah ibn Asyad, `Imrān ibn al-Ḥuṣayn, Sa`d ibn Mālik, Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamān, Abū-Qatādah al-Anṣāri, `Alī ibn Abū-Ṭālib and his two sons; al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn (a.s).

Among women, I compiled the texts related by Umm-Salamah, `Ā`ishah and Fāṭimah daughter of the Holy Prophet.

Thereafter, I record the Imāms' reports concordant to the reports of the Ṣaḥābah. I will mention each Imām's nominating his successor. This work is purposed for making people realize the truth and take it as their religion, evading being like those described in Almighty Allāh's saying, "And those did not show opposition but after knowledge had come to them, out of envy among them."

Such narrations remove doubt and hesitancy and repeal every excuse. In fact, the matter is more genuine than what they thought.

The compiler collates the narration of each companion he has already mentioned under a definite title. He also records the narration and its documentation and series of narrators up to the Holy Prophet. This work saved a great deal of narrations that have been, totally or partially, lost in the reference books of our Sunni brothers. The following are models from the book:

On page 23, Title: Narrations of `Abdullāh ibn Mas`ūd, the writer records:

... `Abdullāh ibn Mas`ūd narrated that he had heard the Holy Prophet saying: The Imāms after me will be twelve. Nine of them will be from al-Ḥusayn's offspring. Their ninth is their Mahdī.

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On page 37, Title: Narrations of Anas ibn Mālik, the writer records:

... Anas ibn Mālik narrated the following: After leading a collective prayer, the Holy Prophet said, "O my companions! Whoever loves my household will be grouped with us. Whoever adheres to my coming successors will have adhered to the Firmest Handle." Abū-Dharr stood and asked, "O Allāh's Messenger! How many will the Imāms be after you?" "Their number is the like of the Israelite leaders'," answered the Holy Prophet. "All will be from your household?" asked Abū-Dharr. "All will be from my household. Nine will be from al-Ḥusayn's offspring. Al-Mahdī is one of them," answered the Holy Prophet.

On page 133, Title: Narrations of Abū-Ayyūb al-Anṣārī Khālid ibn Zayd, the writer records:

... Abū-Ayyūb al-Anṣārī said that he had heard the Holy Prophet saying, "I am the master of the Prophets. `Alī is the master of the Prophets' successors. My grandsons are the best grandsons. The Immaculate Imāms belong to us. They are from al-Ḥusayn's offspring. Al-Mahdī of this nation is from us." A Bedouin stood up and asked about their number. "Their number is the like of the grandsons of Abraham and the Disciples of Jesus and the Israelite leaders," answered the Holy Prophet.

On page 120, Title: Narrations of `Ammār ibn Yāsir, the writer records:

... `Ammār narrated the following: I was with the Holy Prophet during a campaign when `Alī (a.s) could kill the standard-bearers; `Amr ibn `Abdullāh al-Jumjumi and Shaybah ibn Nāfi`. I came to the Holy Prophet and expressed that `Alī had fought for sake of Allāh in the very proper way. "This is because he is a part of me and I am a part of him," answered the Holy Prophet, "He is the heir of my knowledge and the settler of my debts and the keeper on my promises. He is the leader after me. Without

him, the pure believers are never recognized. To confront him is to confront me, and to confront me is to confront Almighty Allāh. To consent to him is to consent to me, and to consent to me is to consent to Almighty Allāh. He is the father of my two grandsons. The Imāms are from his offspring. From him, Allāh the Exalted will bring the Prudent Imāms. Al-Mahdī of this nation will be one of them." I wondered, "May my father and mother be sacrificed for you, Allāh's Messenger! Who is al-Mahdī?" The Holy Prophet answered, "O `Ammār! Allāh the Blessed and Elevated has given me a covenant that He will create nine persons from al-Ḥusayn's offspring. Their ninth will be invisible for them. This is Allāh's saying, 'Say: Have you considered if your water should go down, who is it then that will bring you flowing water?' His occultation will take a long time that some people will apostatize while others will be firm. In the last age (of the earth), he will come forth to fill in this world with justice and equity. He will fight for sake of the interpretation (of the Holy Qur`ān) in the same way as I fought for sake of the revelation (of it). He will have my name. He will be the most similar to me. O `Ammār! After me, there will come a heresy. When that occurs, you should follow `Ali and his party. He is with the right and the right is with him. O `Ammār! After me, you will be fighting with `Ali two categories of people—the breachers and the deviants. Then, the despotic party will kill you."

I asked, "O Allāh's Messenger! Will that satisfy Allāh and you?"

The Prophet answered, "Yes, that will satisfy Allāh and me. The last meal you will have in this world will be a drink of milk."... etc.

On page 180, Title: Narrations of Ummu-Salamah, the writer records:

... Saddād ibn Aws narrated: On the Battle of the Camel, I decided not to join any of the two parties. To the midday, I did not participate in the fighting. That afternoon, the

Lord inspired my heart to fight with `Alī. Therefore, I fought in his lines until the end of the battle. When I was back in al-Madīnah, I visited Umm-Salamah. "From where have you come?" asked she. "From Baṣrah," I answered. "Which party did you join?" she asked. "O Umm al-Mu`minīn!" I expressed, "I retired the fighting for half a day. Then, the Lord inspired me to fight with `Alī." "You have done the very right thing," she praised, and added, "I heard the Holy Prophet stating: To fight against `Alī is to fight against me, and to fight against me is to fight against the Lord." "You see that `Alī is the right, do you not?" I asked. "Yes, by Allāh," she affirmed, "`Alī is with the right and the right is with him. By Allāh I swear, Muḥammad's people violated their Prophet when they chose those whom are disregarded by the Lord and His Messenger and disregarded those whom are chosen by the Lord and His Messenger. They kept their women in their houses and took out the Holy Prophet's lady to the deserts. By Allāh I swear that I heard the Holy Prophet saying: My ummah will be in a concordance and in discrepancy. You should join them when they are concordant. And you should choose for the middle situation when they are engaged in discrepancy. You should focus your eyes on my household. If they fight, you should fight with them. If they opt for peace, you should follow them. The right is being with them whenever they are." I asked, "Who are his household?" Umm-Salamah answered, "It is they to whom we are commissioned to adhere. They are the Imāms after him. Their number is as same as the Israelite leaders' number. They are `Alī and his two sons and nine persons from al-Ḥusayn's offspring. They are the immaculate and the sinless Imāms." I said, "What a pity! People are perishing, then!" She commented, "Every sect rejoicing what they had with them."

(3) THE ISLĀMIC PRINCIPLES IN THE SERMONS OF
THE FAREWELL ḤAJJ

We have previously proved that the Holy Prophet's Sermon of 'Arafāt, in the Farewell Ḥajj, included his prediction of the coming of the Twelve Imāms as well as his recommendations in this regard. Let us now discuss the contents of the other five sermons; Sermon of Makkah on the Day of Tarwiyah, Sermon of the Second Day, Sermon of al-Khayf Masjid on the Day of Naḥr and Sermon of Ghadīr.

Although narrations have communicated, confusedly, a few reports about the contents of these sermons, it is possible to infer that the Holy Prophet, through these sermons, provided all the affairs needed by his people after him. These sermons included statements dealing with the following five bases:

1. The basis of the humanitarian equity:

- The principle of the humanitarian unity among humankind and the eradication of the racial discrimination.
- The principle of good treatment of women and the avoidance of wronging them.

2. The basis of the unity of the ummah:

- The principle of eradicating the traces, practices and regulations of the pre-Islāmic era that are in violation of the Islāmic laws.
- The principle of Muslims' fraternity and equity.
- The principle of the respect for private ownership and the illegality of violating Muslims' properties.
- The principle of regarding Muslims' souls and the illegality of shedding their blood.
- The principle of respecting Muslims' honors and dignity and the illegality of abusing each other.

- The principle of maintaining properties and souls of those who speak out the creed of Islām (shahādah).
- The principle of sealing prophethood with the Holy Prophet and sealing the nations with his ummah.
- The principle of the Holy Prophet's being the witness on his people in the Hereafter and their joining him on the Divine Pool.
- The principle of the necessity of the accuracy in acting and the admonishing against committing the insignificant actions that lead to deviation.
- The principle of warning against forging lies against the Holy Prophet and the insistence on investigating whatever is ascribed to him.

3. The basis of the unity of the Islāmic law - Sharī'ah- and the Muslims' culture.

- The principle of fulfilling the trusts.
- The laws of the heritage.
- The laws of the blood money and retaliation.
- The laws of the rites of the Ḥajj; "From me, you should learn the rites."

4. The basis of the political affairs and the leadership after the Holy Prophet:

- The principle of the prediction of the advent of Twelve Imāms from the Ahl al-Bayt.
- The principle of the importunate adherence to the Qur'ān and the Ahl al-Bayt—the two weighty things.
- The principle of nominating Imām 'Alī (a.s) as the next leader of the ummah and the first of the Twelve Imāms.
- The principle of keeping on performing the obligatory rites and the compliance with the leaders.

- The principle of immortalizing the plot of Quraysh and Kinānah on the blockade of the Hāshimites.
- The principle of warning people of Quraysh against playing the tyrant after the departure of the Holy Prophet.
- The principle of warning the Ṣaḥābah against breaking faith and struggling on power.

5. The basis of punishment of the dissenters against the Holy Prophet's course:

- The principle of cursing those who ascribe themselves to other than their fathers or masters.

To present detailed discussions about these bases and principles is impossible; therefore, let us refer to some models of these holy sermons before we refer to the topics and examples related.

It is quite clear that the Holy Prophet referred to each of these bases and principles on many occasions before the Farewell Ḥajj. As a matter of fact, they, together with the six sermons, form an inseparably coalescing topic. The Holy Prophet's wording is a revelation that completes and explains each other. In every topic, that wording formulates a perfect doctrinal and legislative unity that contributes in the constructing of the divine comprehensive edifice of Islām.

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This basis is too evident to require any further discussion. Previously, we have referred to a number of related texts of the Holy Prophet's sermons.

Models of the Holy Prophet's Sermons in the Farewell Hajj

Ibn Shu'bah al-Ḥarrāni -died in AH 350- records the following on page 30 of *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*:

The Holy Prophet's Sermon in the Farewell Ḥajj:

In the Farewell Ḥajj, The Prophet (a.s) said:

All praise is due to Allāh. We praise Him, seek His aid and forgiveness, and repent to Him. We seek His guard against the evils of our wrongdoings and ourselves. No one will be able to lead astray those whom Allāh guides and no one will be able to guide those whom Allāh causes to deviate. I declare that there is no god but Allāh exclusively without any associate, and declare that Muḥammad is His servant and messenger.

O slaves of Allāh, I command you to adhere to piety and urge you to obey Him. I begin with Allāh Who is the source of everything good.

O people, listen to what I will say to you. I do not know whether I will meet you the next year in this situation or not.

O people, your souls and honors are as holy as this day in this country among you up to the day on which you will meet your Lord. Have I conveyed? O Allāh, be the witness.

He whom is trusted with a deposit should fulfill his trust. The usury of Jāhiliyah (pre-Islāmic era) is revoked. The first usury that I will revoke is that of al-`Abbās ibn `Abd al-Muṭṭalib.

The revenge of the Jāhiliyah is revoked. The first revenge that I will revoke is that of `Āmir ibn Rabi`ah ibn al-Ḥārith ibn `Abd al-Muṭṭalib.

The whole traditions of the Jāhiliyah are canceled except the custody –of the Holy House of Allāh- and the watering (of the pilgrims).

Retaliation is the judge of the premeditated murder. The ruling of quasi-murder, such as those whom are killed by a stick or a stone unintentionally, is one hundred camels –

to be paid as blood money-. Any additional number is a part of Jāhiliyah.

O people, Satan despaired of being obeyed on this land, but he accepted to be obeyed through your insignificant evildoings.

O people, "Postponing (of the sacred month) is only an addition in unbelief, wherewith those who disbelieve are led astray, violating it one year and keeping it sacred another, that they may agree in the number (of months) that Allāh has made sacred. 9/37" The time has rotated as same as the day on which Allāh created the heavens and the earth. "Surely the number of months with Allāh is twelve months in Allāh's ordinance since the day when He created the heavens and the earth, of these four being sacred; 9/36" three are consecutive and one is odd. They are Dhu'l-Qa'dah, Dhu'l-Hijjah, Muḥarram and Rajab, which falls between Jumādā and Sha'bān. Have I conveyed? O Allāh, be the witness.

O people, your women enjoy obligations that are imposed upon you, and you enjoy obligations that are imposed upon them. The obligations that are imposed upon them are that they should never take anybody to your beds, should never let anybody that you hate enter your houses before they take your permission and should never commit any evildoing. If they do so, Allāh has permitted you to prevent them, leave them alone in the sleeping-places and beat them, but not so harmfully. If they desist and obey you, you should assume their livelihood and clothing adequately. You have taken them by the trust of Allāh and they have been lawful to you by the Book of Allāh. Therefore, fear Allāh in the questions regarding women and advise each other for their good.

O people, "the believers are each others' brothers. 49/10" It is illicit for anyone to behave in (someone's) money before he obtains the owner's permission. Have I conveyed? O Allāh, be the witness.

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After me, do not return to atheism by killing each other. I have left among you what will protect you against deviation if you only adhere to. It is the Book of Allāh and my family—my household. O Allāh, be the witness.

O people, your Lord is One and your father is one. You all are from Adam and Adam was created from dust. "The best of you to Allāh is the most Almighty Allāh-fearing. 49/13" Except by means of piety, no Arab person is preferred to a non-Arab. Have I conveyed? The attendant must convey this to the absent.

O people, Allāh has constituted the share of every heir. It is illicit for any testator to will more than one third of the estate. The baby is for the owner of the bed, and the share of the prostitute is the stone. The curse of Allāh, the angels and all of people be upon those who claim of being the sons of other than their fathers and those who claim of being the subjects of other than their masters.¹ Allāh will not accept from such individuals any excuse or compensation.

Peace and Allāh's mercy and blessings be upon you.

The following is quoted from *al-Kāfi* 1/403:

... A man from Quraysh related the following: With Sufyān al-Thawrī, I went to Ja`far ibn Muḥammad and found him on his pack animal. Sufyān addressed to him, "O Abū-'Abdullāh! Would you please relate to us the Holy Prophet's Sermon in al-Khayf Masjid?" The Imām apologized since he had already ridden, and promised he would answer Sufyān's question as soon as he would be back. "I adjure you by your kinship to the Messenger of Allāh (a.s) to relate it to me," insisted Sufyān. The Imām

¹ Shaykh Al-Ṣadūq, in his *al-Faḡih*, relates the following narration:

Abān ibn `Uthmān reported that Imām al-Ṣādiq (a.s) asked Ibrāhīm al-Ṣayqal: 'Do you know to whom the Holy Prophet (a.s) referred in (masters) during the Sermon of the Farewell Ḥajj?' 'No,' answered Ibrāhīm, 'I do not know.' The Imām (a.s) answered, '(Masters) stands from the Ahl al-Bayt.'

rode off. Sufyān asked for a pen and a paper to record the Imām's wording. The Imām spoke, "In the Name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful. This is the sermon of the Holy Prophet addressed in al-Khayf Masjid:

Allāh may bloom the servants who will listen and understand my words and convey them to the absent.

O people! The witness should carry this to the absent. A bearer of knowledge may happen to be illiterate and a bearer of knowledge may happen to carry it to the more knowledgeable.

Hearts of Muslims should never act unfaithfully in three matters; sincere performance of Allāh's duties, giving advice to Muslims' Imāms and committing to their congruity. Their congruity is binding.

The believers are brothers of equal blood. They are one hand against their enemies. The least among them can bear their situation."

After he had recorded these statements, Sufyān recited them before the Imām. Hence, Abū-'Abdullāh rode the animal and went.

Halfway, I told Sufyān that Abū-'Abdullāh had bound him with an everlasting duty. "What is that?" asked Sufyān. "It is the three things in which a Muslim should never act unfaithfully," I said, "Sincere performance of Allāh's duties is a clear matter. Regarding giving advice to Muslims' Imāms, who are those Imāms? Are they Mu'āwiyah ibn Abī-Sufyān, Yazīd ibn Mu'āwiyah, Marwān ibn al-Ḥakam and the other rulers while even the collective prayers led by them are invalid? About committing to their congruity, who are those congruous people? Are they the deferrers who believe that persons who did not perform a single obligatory prayer and did not fast on a single day and did not perform the obligatory bathing and demolished the Ka'bah and married their mothers are bearing the same degree of faith born by Archangel Gabriel and Archangel Michael? Or are they

the fatalists who believe that Satan's desire can be active while Allāh's will cannot be? Or are they the Ḥarūrītes who deny `Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib and decide his atheism? Or are they the Jahmites who claim that faith is to know Allāh only?"

As he became perplexed, Sufyān asked me an explanation of the Holy Prophet's saying reported by Abū-'Abdullāh (a.s). "'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib, by Allāh, is the only Imām before whom we are commissioned to give advice. And the congruity stands for his household," I answered.

Sufyān tore the paper and asked me to keep it secret.

`Alī ibn Ibrāhīm, in *Tafsīr* 1/171, writes down the following:

The Holy Prophet performed the Farewell Ḥajj, which was the tenth since he immigrated to al-Madīnah. In Minā, he delivered the following speech:

"All praise and thanks be to Allāh. O people! Listen and understand my words. I cannot guarantee whether I will meet you the next year. Do you know which day is the holiest?" "It is this day," answered people. "Do you know which month is the holiest?" asked he. "It is this month," answered they. "Do you know which land is the holiest?" asked he. "It is this land," answered they. "Your souls, estate and honors are as holy among you as this day in this month on this land until you meet your Lord Who will examine your deeds. O people! Have I conveyed?" "Yes, you have," shouted they. "O Allāh! Be the witness," commented the Holy Prophet. After a while, he added, "Every regulation, heresy, revenge and debt that was founded in Jāhiliyah is under my feet. None is preferable to another except by criteria of piety. Have I conveyed?" "Yes, you have," declared they. "O Allāh! Be the witness," said the Holy Prophet and then added, "Every usury that was concluded in the Jāhiliyah is now revoked. The first usury I am to revoke is al-'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib's. Every item of revenge that was in the Jāhiliyah is now revoked. The first revenge I am to revoke is Rabi'ah's. Have I conveyed?" "Yes, you have," shouted

they. "O Allāh! Be the witness," said the Holy Prophet and then added, "Satan despaired of being obeyed on this land, but he has been pleased to be obeyed through your insignificant acts. If Satan is obeyed, he is then worshipped. O people! Muslims are brothers of each other. It is illicit for a Muslim neither to shed the blood of another Muslim nor to have from his estate unless satisfaction is obtained. I am ordered to fight people until they say: There is no god but Allāh. As they speak this statement out, they will protect their souls and estate except in the rightful ways. The Lord will be their judge. O people! Have I conveyed?" "Yes, you have," shouted they. "O Allāh! Be the witness," said the Holy Prophet and added, "O people! Keep my wording and you will harvest its benefits later on. Perceive my sayings and you will be prosperous. Break not your faith after me, and be not unbelievers by beheading each other for sake of worldly affairs. If you do so, and you will do it, you will find me in a phalanx between Archangels Gabriel and Michael striking your faces with the sword (For a while, the Holy Prophet paused, turning to the right. Then, he continued,) or 'Ali ibn Abi-Tālib, Allāh willing. I am leaving among you the two things that will enduringly protect you against deviation. They are the Book of Allāh and my people—my household. The Knower of subtleties—the Aware has informed me that these two things will never separate until they join me on the Divine Pool. Whoever accedes to them will be saved and whoever opposes them will perish. Have I conveyed?" "Yes, you have," shouted they. "O Allāh! Be the witness," said the Holy Prophet and added, "Some men among you will be precluded from joining me on the Divine Pool. I will then say that they are my companions. I will be answered, 'You do not know what they committed after you.' I will comment: Far away! Far away!"

On the last day of Tashriq, Allāh revealed the Sūrah of al-Naṣr (No. 110). The Holy Prophet understood that he would leave this life in a short time. He declared that

people should gather in al-Khayf Masjid for the prayer. When people came there, he addressed, "All praise and thanks be to Allāh. Allāh may bloom a servant who will listen to and understand my words and convey them to the absent. It happens that a bearer of knowledge be illiterate and a bearer of knowledge may carry it to a more knowledgeable one. Muslim's hearts should never act unfaithfully in three matters; sincere performance of Allāh's duties, giving advice to Muslims' Imāms and committing to their congruity. Their congruity is binding. The believers are brothers of equal blood. The least among them can bear their situation. They are one hand against their enemies. O people! I am leaving among you the two weighty things." "What are the two weighty things, Allāh's messenger?" wondered people. The Holy Prophet explained, "They are the Book of Allāh and my people—my household. The Knower of subtleties—the All-aware has informed me that these two will never separate until they join me on the Divine Pool. Their joining will be like the joining of the forefingers of my two hands, not the joining of the forefinger and the next one since a little space may be left."

Some of the Ṣaḥābah spoke to each other that Muḥammad intended to dedicate the leadership to his household. Four of them traveled to Makkah and entered the Ka`bah where they concluded an agreement on preventing the Ahl al-Bayt from holding any position of leadership as soon as Muḥammad would be dead or assassinated. Hence, Allāh revealed to His Prophet, "Or have they settled an affair? Then, surely, We are the settlers. Or do they think that We do not hear what they conceal and their secret discourses? Aye! And our messengers with them write down. 43/79-80"

Al-Bukhārī in *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 5/126 records the following:

Abū-Bakrah narrated that the Holy Prophet said, "Time has rotated as same as the first day on which the Lord created the heavens and the earth. A year is of twelve months four of which are holy—three are successive;

Dhu'l-Qa'dah, Dhu'l-Hijjah and Muḥarram, and the fourth is Rajab, which falls between Jumādā and Sha'bān. Which month is this?" "Allāh and His Messenger are the most knowledgeable," we answered. The Holy Prophet paused for a considerable while that we thought he would call another name to that month. "Is it not Dhu'l-Hijjah?" asked he. "Yes, it is," we replied. "Which land is this?" asked he. "Allāh and His Messenger are the most knowledgeable," we answered. The Prophet paused for a considerable while that we thought he would call another name to it. "Is it not al-Baldah?" asked the Holy Prophet. "Yes, it is," we replied. "What kind of day is today?" asked the Holy Prophet. "Allāh and His Messenger are the most knowledgeable," we answered. The Prophet stopped talking for a considerable while that we thought he would call another name to it. "Is it not the Naḥr – immolation-Day?" asked the Holy Prophet. "Yes, it is," we answered. The Prophet spoke, "Your souls and estate (Muḥammad added that the Holy Prophet might said, 'and your honor...') are as holy among you as this day in this month on this land. You will meet your Lord and He will examine your deeds. After me, return not to deviation by beheading each other. The witness should inform the absent. It may happen that an indirect receiver is more committed than the direct."

It is noticeable that the narrator uses 'deviation' instead of 'unbelief', which was mentioned in the other ways of narration.

The following is quoted from al-Bukhārī, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 1/24:

... The Holy Prophet sat on the back of his camel while a man was catching to its bridle. "What kind of day is today?" asked he. We stopped talking for a considerable while that we thought that he would call another name to that day. "Is it not the Naḥr Day?" asked he. "Yes, it is," we replied. "Which month are we in?" asked he. We stopped talking for a considerable while that we thought he would call another name to that month. "Is it not Dhu'l-Hijjah?" asked he. "Yes, it is," we replied. The Holy Prophet added, "Your souls, estate and honor are as

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holy among you as this day in this month on this land. The witness should inform the absent. A witness may convey to a more committed one.”

The following is quoted from Muslim, *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 4/41:

...The Holy Prophet descended the mountain and addressed, “Your souls and estate are as holy among you as this day in this month on this land. Every affair of the Jāhiliyah is being under my feet. Revenge of the Jāhiliyah is revoked. The first revenge that I will revoke is Rabī‘ah ibn al-Ḥārith’s revenge that is ours. He was suckling in the quarter of Banū-Sa’d and the tribe of Hudhayl killed him. Usury of Jāhiliyah is revoked. The first usury I want to revoke is ours, which is al-‘Abbās ibn ‘Abd al-Muṭṭalib’s. Watch your Lord during treating your women. You have taken them by the trust of Allāh. And you have consummated their privates by the word of Allāh. Your rights imposed upon them are that they should not permit anyone you dislike to sit on your furniture (i.e. enter your houses). If they do so, you are permitted to beat them not heavily. Their rights imposed upon you are that you save their alimony and clothing in an acceptable way. I am leaving among you what will protect you against deviation as long as you commit yourselves to. It is the Book of Allāh. You will be asked about me. What will you answer?” “We confess that you have conveyed, accomplished and advised,” shouted people. As he raised his forefinger to the heavens and shook it towards people, the Holy Prophet said three times, “O Allāh! Be the witness.”

Ibn Mājah records the same previous narration with an addition. The following is recorded by al-Ḥākim in *al-Mustadrak* 1/77:

The Holy Prophet delivered a speech saying, “O People! I will precede you to the Divine Pool. It is a pool of a distance as same as that between Kūfah and the Black Stone -of the Ka’bah-. His vessels are as many as stars. As some people from my nation will approach, a man will come out and occlude them from being close to me.

Another group will be occluded, too. None will escape but a few group that are like scattered animals in a cattle.” “Will I be one of them, Allāh’s Prophet?” asked Abū-Bakr. “No, you will not,” answered the Holy Prophet, “They will be people from the coming generations who will move backward.”

[Al-Hākim comments:] According to the criteria of the two Shaykhs -Muslim and al-Bukhārī-, this is an authentic narration. Yet, they did not record it. Al-Ḥajjāj ibn Muḥammad has reported it from al-Layth.

Ibn Mājah, in *al-Sunan* 2/1016, records the following:

... `Abdullāh ibn Mas`ūd narrated that while the Holy Prophet was on the back of his she-camel in `Arafāt, he said, “Do you realize which day, month and land are these?” “These are holy day, month and land,” answered they. “Your estate and souls are as holy among you as this month, land and day,” said the Holy Prophet and then went on, “I will precede you to the Divine Pool and I will take pride in you before the other nations. Blacken not my face. I will save some people and some will be taken away from me. I will say, ‘O Lord! Those are my companions.’ But I will be answered: You do not know what they did after you.” According to *Majma` al-Zawā`id*, this is an authentic report.

Ibn Mājah, too, records the following in *al-Sunan* 2/1300:

Title: After Me, Return Not To Atheism By Beheading Each Other:

Jarīr ibn `Abdullāh narrated that during the Farewell Ḥajj, the Holy Prophet asked people to keep silent. He then said, “After me, return not to atheism by beheading each other.”

Ibn `Umar narrated that the Holy Prophet stated, “Woe is you! After me, return not to atheism by beheading each other.”

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Al-Ṣannāj al-Aḥmasi narrated that the Holy Prophet stated, "I will precede you to the Divine Pool. I will take pride in you among the other nations. After me, do not fight each other."

According to *Majma' al-Zawā'id*, this is an authentic report with trustful narrators.

The following is recorded by al-Tirmidhī in *al-Sunan* 2/62:

...Abū-Umāmah narrated that during the Farewell Ḥajj, I heard the Holy Prophet saying, "Beware of your duty to Allāh and perform the five –obligatory- prayers and fast in that month –of Ramadan- and defray the Zakāt and comply with your leaders and you will be taken to the Paradise of your Lord."

Abū-Umāmah declared that he had heard this saying from the Holy Prophet when he was thirty years old.

Abū-'Īsā decides this narration as qualified with a rather doubtful narrator. Others, however, have decided it as authentic.

In *al-Musnad* by Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal 5/412, the following is recorded:

... A man from the Ṣaḥābah narrated that the Holy Prophet was on the back of his red she-camel when he asked, 'Do you realize what kind of day is today?' 'It is the Naḥr Day,' answered we. 'You are true,' replied the Holy Prophet, 'It is the Grand Ḥajj Day. Which month is it?' 'It is Dhu'l-Ḥijjah,' answered we. 'You are true,' commented the Holy Prophet, 'It is the palatial month of Allāh. Do you know which land is this?' 'It is the Holy Precinct,' answered we. 'You are true,' stated the Holy Prophet, 'Your souls and estate are as holy among you as this day in this month on this land. (Or: as same as the sanctification of this day, month and land.) I will precede you to the Divine Pool. I will look at you taking pride among the other nations. Blacken not my face. You have seen and listened to me. You will be asked about me. He

who deliberately forges lies against me will have sought himself a place in Hellfire. I will save some people and others will be taken away from me. I will say: O Lord! They are my companions. But I will be answered: You do not know what they did after you.

The following is quoted from *Majma' al-Zawā'id* 3/265:

Title: Sermons of the Ḥajj:

Abū-Ḥarrah al-Raqqāshī narrated the following on the authority of his uncle: In the middle of the Tashriq days, I was catching the riddle of the Holy Prophet's she-camel. He then said, "O people! Do you realize which day, month and land are these?" "They are holy day, holy month and holy land," answered people. "Your souls, estate and honors are as holy among you as this day in this month on this land until the day on which you will meet your Lord. Listen to me and you will live. Wrong not each other. Wrong not each other. Wrong not each other. It is illicit for any one of you to have from a Muslim's property unless satisfaction is obtained. Every blood and estate of Jāhiliyah should be under my feet until the Resurrection Day. The first revenge I want to revoke is Rabī'ah ibn Al-Ḥārith ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib who belonged to us. He was a baby at the tribe of Layth when the tribe of Hudhayl killed him. Every usury that was in Jāhiliyah is revoked. The Exalted Lord has ordered that the first usury to be revoked is that of al-'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib who belongs to us. You possess your capital neither wronging nor wronged. Time has rotated as same as the first day on which the Lord created the heavens and the earth. 'Surely, the number of months with Allāh is twelve months in Allāh's ordinance since the day when He created the heavens and the earth, of these four being sacred. That is the right reckoning; therefore, wrong not each other during them.' After me, return not to atheism by beheading each other. Satan has despaired of being obeyed by the performers of prayers; but he is working on creating antagonism among you. Fear Allāh as you treat your women. They are restrained at you. They have rights

imposed upon you and you have rights imposed upon them. The rights imposed upon them are that they should not permit any one to take your places in your beds and they are not allowed to permit any one you dislike to enter your houses. If you expect desertion of a woman, you should admonish, desert in the bed and then beat ineffectively. Their rights are that you should save their alimony and clothing. You have taken them by the trust of Allāh and you have consummated their privates by the word of Allāh. He who had a trust should deliver it to the depositor."

The Holy Prophet then opened his hand and said, "Have I conveyed? Have I conveyed? The witness should inform the absent. An indirect receiver may be more receptive than a direct hearer."

Relating this narration, Abū-Dāwūd mentions the statements of beating women only while Ahmad (ibn Ḥanbal) and Abū-Ḥarrah al-Raqqāshī record it completely. Abū-Dāwūd, however, decides its authenticity and Ibn Mu'in considers it as doubtful. One of the narrators is Ali ibn Zayd about whom experts have noted many points of weakness.

Abū-Naḍrah narrated the following on the authority of a man who heard the Holy Prophet's sermon addressed in the middle of the Tashriq days:

The Holy Prophet stated, "O people! Your Lord is One and your father is one, too. An Arab individual should not be preferred to a non-Arab and a black should not be preferred to a white except by criteria of piety. Have I conveyed?" "Yes! The Messenger of Allāh has conveyed," people shouted. "What kind of day is today?" asked the Holy Prophet. "It is a holy day," people answered. "Which land is this?" asked the Holy Prophet. "It is a holy land," people shouted. "Allāh the Exalted has made your souls and estate --the Holy Prophet might have added 'and honors' to his statement-- as holy as this day in this month on this land. Have I conveyed?" said the Holy Prophet. "Yes! The messenger of Allāh has

conveyed," people admitted. "The witness should inform the absent," ordered the Holy Prophet.

To a series of authentic narrators, Aḥmad relates the previous report in *al-Musnad* 5/72.

Ibn `Umar narrated that when this Sūrah was revealed to the Holy Prophet in Minā in the middle of the Tashriq days, he recognized the imminence of his death. He rode his animal, al-Qaṣwā', and stood among people in al-`Aqabah. A great number of Muslims encompassed him. He then said, "All praise and thanks be to Allāh. O people! Any revenge that was in Jāhiliyah is annulled. The first revenge to be annulled is the blood of Rabī`ah ibn al-Hārith who belonged to us. The tribe of Hudhayl killed him when he was a baby at the tribe of Layth. Likewise, any usury that was concluded in the Jāhiliyah is revoked. The first usury to be revoked is that of al-`Abbās ibn `Abd al-Muttalib who belongs to us. O people! Time has rotated as same as it was when the Lord created the heavens and the earth. The number of months with Allāh is twelve, four of which are holy. They are Rajab, which falls between Jumādā and Sha`bān, then come Dhu'l-Qa`dah, Dhu'l-Hijjah and Muḥarram. That is the right reckoning; therefore, wrong not each other during them. 'Postponing of the sacred months is only an addition in unbelief, wherewith those who disbelieve are led astray, violating it one year and keeping it sacred another, that they may agree the number of months that Allāh has made sacred.' They were violating Ṣafar a year and keeping Muḥarram sacred the other. That is the postponing of the sacred months. O people! He who had a trust should deliver it to the depositor. O people! Satan despaired of being obeyed on this land in the last of time but he has been pleased to be obeyed in your insignificant deeds. Take care of your religion against your insignificant deeds. O people! Women are in your hands. You have taken them by the trust of Allāh and consummated their privates by the word of Allāh. You have rights imposed upon them and they have rights imposed upon you.

Within your rights is that they should not let any one take your places in your beds and they should not disobey you in acceptable matters. If they do so, then you have no authority on them. They should enjoy their alimony and clothing in an acceptable way. If you beat them, you should not injure. It is illicit for any of you to have from his brother's property unless satisfaction is obtained. O people! Among you, I am leaving what will protect you against deviation if you adhere to. It is the Book of Allāh. You should follow it. O people! What kind of day is today?" "It is a sacred day," answered they. "Which land is this?" asked the Holy Prophet. "It is a sacred land," answered they. "Which month is this?" asked the Holy Prophet. "It is a sacred month," answered they. "Almighty Allāh has made your souls, estate and honors as sacred as this day in this month on this land. The witness should inform the absent. There will be no Prophet after me and there will be no nation after you."

The Prophet then raised his hands to the heavens and said, "O Allāh! Be the witness."

In the major reference books of Ḥadīth, a part of this report is recorded. Al-Bazzār also records this narration. However, Mūsā ibn 'Ubaydah, the doubtful, is within the series of the narrators.

The following is recorded in *Majma' al-Zawā'id* 3/272:

...Al-'Addā' ibn Khālid ibn 'Amr ibn 'Āmir narrated that in the Farewell Ḥajj, he was sitting under the minbar from which the Holy Prophet said, "All praise and thanks be to Allāh. Allāh says, 'O you men! We have created you of a male and a female, and made you tribes and families that you may know each other; surely, the most honorable of you with Allāh is the one among you most careful of his duty.' An Arab should not be preferred to a non-Arab, a non-Arab should not be preferred to an Arab, a black should not be preferred to a white and a white should not be preferred to a black except on criteria of piety. O people of Quraysh! Do not shoulder the worldly affairs

while people shoulder the Hereafter. I will not avail you in the least before Allāh.”

In *al-Mu`jam al-Kabīr*, a-Ṭabarānī relates this narration to doubtful narrators. Previously, we have referred to an authentic documentation of this report.

Abū-Qābilah narrated that in the Farewell Ḥajj, the Holy Prophet delivered a sermon saying, “There will be no Prophet after me and there will be no nation after you. Revere your Lord, perform the five –obligatory- prayers, fast in the month –of Ramadan- and comply with the leaders and you will enter the Paradise of your Lord.”

The following is quoted from al-Dārimi’s *al-Sunan* 2/47:

...The Holy Prophet stated, “Your blood and estate are as holy as this day in this month on this land. Every matter that was regulated in Jāhiliyah is under my feet. The revenge of Jāhiliyah is revoked. The first revenge I will revoke is the Rabī`ah ibn Al-Ḥārith’s. The tribe of Hudhayl killed him when he was a baby at the quarter of Banū-Sa`d. Usury of Jāhiliyah is revoked. The first usury I will revoke is al-`Abbās ibn `Abd al-Muṭṭalib’s. Watch the Lord during treating your women. You have taken them by the trust of Allāh and consummated their privates by His word. Your rights imposed upon them are that they should not let anyone take your places in your beds. If they do, you should beat them, yet ineffectively. Their rights imposed upon you are that you should save their alimony and clothing in an acceptable way. You will be asked about me, what will you answer?” “We acknowledge you have conveyed, accomplished and advised,” shouted people. The Prophet raised his forefinger to the heavens and shook it at people saying thrice, “O Allāh! Be the witness.” ... etc.

In *al-Sunan* 2/67, the following is recorded:

`Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Abī-Bakraḥ narrated on the authority of his father that on that day, the Holy Prophet sat on a camel, or she-camel perhaps, whose bridle was held by a

man and asked, "What kind of day is today?" We kept silent for a considerable time that we thought he would call another name to it. "Is it not the Naḥr Day?" asserted the Holy Prophet. "Yes, it is," answered we. "Which month is this?" asked he ...etc.

First Basis

The Holy Prophet's indications to this basis are too clear to require explanations. Moreover, many texts regarding the topic have been already demonstrated.

Second Basis

A preliminary sight at the texts relating the Holy Prophet's last sermons gives the impression that the first five principles of this basis, namely the unity of the ummah, have been the most important, if not the only, topic of the sermons. Muslims repeated paragraphs of the Holy Prophet's sermons dealing with this topic so over again. This is by the reason that the society in which the Holy Prophet lived was of an extreme racial discrimination. It was prevailed by laws of predominance and power. The dominant, whether a ruler, a tribe, a knight or even a vagrant, is always the right since he could overcome even if he used means of invasion, assassination, robbery, usurpation or trickery.

The Islāmic legislation repealed all these laws and declared equity of people before the law. All sorts of abusing the private rights were prohibited and a concentration on respecting souls, estate and dignity of people was legislated. This is why they memorized these words in a way distinguished from the other topics and words. They were highly admired by these ethics and principles. For faithful Muslims, these principles formed the radical solution of the issue of invasion and murder suffered in the pre-Islāmic era.

These instructions, formed in a highly eloquent divine and Prophetic style, had a great influence on the regulations of respecting personal character, estate and opinion after the Holy

Prophet's decease. Without these instructions, Muslim society would have been engaged in a situation extremely worse than what had actually occurred. In the same manner, the Jāhiliyah regulations, regarding association with humanity, would have floated to the surface anew.

It is noticeable that the Holy Prophet's immaculate household have preceded people in the field of regarding the humankind and their legal freedom. Imām 'Alī (a.s) was the only ruler, after the Holy Prophet, who did not use martial laws or any exceptional law, even with his rivals and those who mutinied against him. Moreover, although he was engaged in three wars that covered the entire period of his ruling, he did not resort to violence or any exceptional policy.

On the other hand, Abū-Bakr and 'Umar reverted to means of power and surmounting against Anṣār in Saqīfah of Banū-Sa'idah. They were about to kill Sa'd ibn 'Abādah. Later on, they attacked the group who refrained from paying homage to them. The group were gathering in the Holy Prophet's house for providing their consolation to his family and, meanwhile, the Holy Prophet's body had not been put in the grave yet when the band threatened them setting the house on fire if they would insist on confining themselves there and evade swearing loyalty to the new leader. When the group were late in going out and leaving the house, that band encompassed the house with firewood and set the door on fire... etc.

The sixth principle of this basis; the principle of maintaining properties and souls of those who speak out the creed of Islām (shahādah; There is no god but Allāh), was related in this form:

I have been ordered to fight people until they say 'There is no god but Allāh.' If they speak it out, they will protect their souls and estate against me except in lawful states. Allāh then will be the Judge."¹

¹ 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm al-Qummī has related this form.

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As a matter of fact, this principle is of three dimensions:

First, anyone who speaks out the creeds of Islām, apart from religion or nationality, is considered as Muslim whose soul, estate and honor must be kept in sacredness. Under definite circumstances defined by the Islāmic law, such as falling under the title of 'the despotic party', doing an evil in the land, committing a murder, apostatizing from Islām, perpetrating adultery or the like offenses, the soul will be lawfully violated.

Second, Jews and Christians are exempted from this rule. They enjoy special regulations in case of peace or war.

Third, the Holy Prophet informed his people that he had restricted himself to the divine orders of jihād -struggling for the Lord's sake-. His mission from this jihād was to complete the revelation of the Holy Qur'ān and to activate the declaration of the two creeds of Islām. In other words, his calling was to form the general appearance of this nation. He was not given the orders of fighting the deviate or those who mislead Muslims, since this sort of fighting is reckoned with the jihād for the interpretation of the Holy Qur'ān. This sort of jihād came after the Holy Prophet's departure.

The seventh principle is sealing prophethood with the Holy Prophet and sealing the nations with his nation. It is the principle of the prevalence of Muḥammad's doctrine over the doctrines of the previous Prophets. It also refutes the misclaims of prophethood a part of which emerged during his reign while others came forth thereafter. Furthermore, this principle grants the ummah the honor of sealing the Prophets' nations. It confines it with the responsibility of guiding the other nations. The Holy Prophet outlined the general strings of worshipping the Lord, performing the prayers, fasting and complying with the leaders. It is not unlikely that the reporter related only the paragraphs he could memorize and that he missed the Holy Prophet's reference to others, such as the Zakāt and the ritual Hajj.

The most distinguishable point in this principle is that the Holy Prophet refers to the compliance with the rulers. When Almighty Allāh commands us to comply with a person unconditionally, this will definitely mean that the person be sinless; in other words, he neither wrongs any nor says but the truth. Since this instruction is empty of any conditions or qualifications, it is most surely that he refers to the Twelve Imāms whom are divinely nominated and predicted.

The eighth principle—the Holy Prophet being the witness on his people in the Hereafter and they will join him on the Divine Pool—is mentioned in various narrations. Some reporters have mentioned it in the form of, “I will precede you to the Divine Pool and I will take pride in you before the other nations. Blacken not my face.” In other narrations, the following form is recorded: “I will take pride in you among the other nations. After me, do not fight each other.”

This is a unique style persisting that people will join their Prophet before their Lord and each will be in need for a drink from the Kawthar Pool. That drink will save against any further thirst and make the body fit enough to enter Paradise.

This instruction is similar to a father’s saying to his sons, “Fulfill my will. I am leaving you. You will join me when I will be having a great fortune. You will be living in poverty. I will surely realize the persons among you who will keep my will and, similarly, I will realize the dissidents.”

The ninth principle—the necessity of accuracy in acting and the admonishing against committing the insignificant actions that lead to deviation—attracts attentions to a remarkable rule in the individual and social behaviors. It is the rule that deviation begins with an insignificant deed or a group of simple deeds seen as meaningless and unimportant. These deeds will lead to others, until they lead to the abyss of the worldly or the supernal devastation. This fact is practicable in both individual and collective situations. A Muslim may permit himself to gaze at a foreign lady that he likes and gives himself the license to

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exchange conversation with her and to participate her in some acts and, finally, this will lead him to perpetrate the obscenity.

A man may permit himself to befriend a bad man. He neglects the sounds of his religious consciousness and the advice of his associates until he will be led to sink in the ocean of wronging people, deviation and corruption.

A nation may overlook assails of their enemies in states of political, economic or cultural power. This concern will lead the enemies to predominate and prevail on this nation.

A society may overlook an aspect of corruption that first occurs in a certain point or among a certain group.

A society may overlook a law dictatorially issued by the ruler or his men. This will lead to a comprehensive injustice that drives the society towards putrescence.

The insignificant sins are those unimportant situations and behaviors forming the invisible seeds of the giant trees of evil on individual and social levels. Consequently, reference books of both sects of Muslims have referred to the Holy prophet's many examples on this point:

In *al-Kāfi* 2/288, we read the following:

Imām Ja`far al-Şādiq (a.s) said: The Holy Prophet resided in a wasteland and asked his companions to fetch firewood. They apologized that the land had been barren. "Try to find as much as possible," ordered the Holy Prophet. They fetched a good quantity and provided the sum before him. As he saw the view, the Holy Prophet commented, "This is the way how sins gather. Beware of the insignificant sins. Everything has an observer. The observer of these sins records whatever they acted and their deeds, and everything is registered in a clear recording."¹

¹ Also, *al-Bayhaqī: al-Sunan* 10/188.

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The previous saying deals with the quantitative accumulation of the insignificant ill deeds and sins. They show how these deeds change into a great danger against the lives of individuals and societies.

The following sayings deal with the qualitative accumulation of the insignificant sins in the core and personality of the individuals and societies:

Al-Kulaynī, in *al-Kāfi* 2/287, records the following:

Imām Ja'far al-Ṣādiq (a.s) stated, "Beware of the insignificant sins. They are unforgivable." "What are the insignificant sins?" asked the narrator. The Imām explained, "A man commits a sin and wishes if he had not committed others."¹

One of the remarkable bases inferred from this instruction is that Satan, when despairs of controlling a nation through misguiding them in the grand issues, takes the road of ruining and deviating through the insignificant deeds. This is the meaning of the Holy Prophet's saying, "Satan despaired of being obeyed on this land, but he will be obeyed in some sins that you deem insignificant. He will be pleased by them."²

Satan despaired of demolishing the fortified castle and the handsome structure of Islām erected by the Holy Prophet; therefore, he went towards prevailing on the individuals to drag a single brick of that building incessantly. This process resulted in dragging all the constituents of that great structure.

Another outstanding matter, deduced from 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm's narration, is that the obedience to Satan in the insignificant sins is adoration to him. This means that those who create deviance in a society are serving Satan, not the Lord. As a result, they

¹ Also al-Dārimī: *al-Sunan* 2/303, Aḥmad: *al-Musnad* 6/70 and 151 and Ibn Mājah: *al-Sunan* 2/1417.

² Ibn Mājah: *al-Sunan* 2/1015.

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raise the slogan to changing from serving the Lord into serving Satan. This is the Holy Prophet's saying, "But he is pleased to be obeyed through your insignificant deeds. If Satan is obeyed, he is then served."

The Holy Prophet's declaration that Satan is pleased to be obeyed through the insignificant sins is an information telling Satan's satisfaction for the success progressed in his project of deviating people. This fact is in conformity with the exegesis of Almighty Allāh's saying, "And certainly Satan found true his conjecture concerning them, so they follow him, except a party of the believers. 34/20"

The Ahl al-Bayt regarded people's struggle on power after the Holy Prophet's departure as the most menacing insignificant sin. In *Biḥār al-Anwār* 28/217, we read the following:

Imām al-Bāqir (a.s), through explaining Almighty Allāh's saying, "Corruption has appeared in the land and the sea on account of what the hands of men have wrought, 30/41" said: By Allāh I swear, that corruption started when Anṣār suggested to elect a leader from them and the people of Quraysh elect another from them.

The tenth principle—warning against forging lies against the Holy Prophet and the insistence on investigating whatever is attributed to him—has been mentioned through the narration of Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal. In Sunni and Shiite reference books of Ḥadīth, this question is mentioned importunately meaning that the problem of forging lies against the Holy Prophet existed during his lifetime. He therefore insisted that this problem would certainly find a larger scope after his departure and the number of the fabricators would increase after him.

A deep look in this problem leads to an abhorrent feeling towards such fabricators since their satanic action defames and deforms Islām and precludes the next generations from receiving its genuineness. A more serious matter is the fact that the Holy Prophet was not given the orders of unmasking and punishing such fabricators for their past or coming forgery. As

an acceptable treatment of this problem, the procedure of warning them against forging lies and warning people against receiving such falsification was taken.

It is evident that such a procedure affects only in a quantitative reduction of the problem. Hence, the Holy Prophet's recognition of the problem's existence and prediction of its continuity and increase after him are proofs on the fact that he constituted a sufficient treatment for the problem, by means of divine instructions.

This treatment was the obligation of presenting every text ascribed to him before the two weighty things that he left in his nation—the Book of Allāh and his household. Any text that contradicts the Book of Allāh must be decided as worthless since the Holy Prophet does never belie the Holy Qur'ān. Correspondingly, every text that contradicts whatever is asserted by his progeny who are being incessantly with the Holy Qur'ān is worthless, too. The Ahl al-Bayt are perpetually with the Holy Qur'ān since they are the heirs of the Holy Prophet and the explicators of his knowledge.

Third Basis

Through various paragraphs of the Holy Prophet's sermons of the Farewell Ḥajj, the principles of this base are mentioned. Previously, we have referred to the fulfillment of trusts and the laws of heritage, blood money and the Ḥajj. At any rate, there were other laws mentioned in the sermons.

In spite of the opposite factors, the main element in the materialization of the cultural unity of the ummah, disregarding racial and national difference, was the unity of their creed and legislation. It is an undeniable fact that Islām could achieve a unity of conceptions and behavior among people in a form unattainable for all states and civilizations.

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Fourth Basis

- The principle of the prediction of Twelve Imāms from the Ahl al-Bayt.
- The principle of the importunate adherence to the Qur`ān and the Ahl al-Bayt; the two weighty things.
- The principle of nominating `Alī as the next leader of this nation and the first of the Twelve Imāms.
- The principle of keeping on performing the obligatory rites and the compliance with the leaders.
- The principle of immortalizing the treaty of Quraysh and Kinānah on blockading the Hāshimites.
- The principle of warning people of Quraysh against playing the tyrant after the Holy Prophet's departure.
- The principle of warning the Sahābah against breaking faith and struggling on power.

Formerly, we have referred to this discussion through the rendition of the Ḥadīths regarding the Twelve Imāms. During the Farewell Hajj sermons, the Holy Prophet referred to this point assuredly.

It is inadmissible for the sane to accept that the Holy Prophet had concealed the identity of those divinely nominated Imāms, or that he provided this matter for predicting their coming. These claims have been originated by people of Quraysh and their hireling narrators.

Shiite reference books of Ḥadīth have attested that the second principle of the Holy Prophet's persisting on the adherence to the two weighty things—the Qur`ān and his progeny—relates that he referred to this matter through the Sermon of Ghadīr, the al-Khayf Masjid Sermon and, presumably, the others. `Alī ibn Ibrāhīm's narration assures this fact. Comprehensively,

Sunni reference books of Ḥadīth have recorded the Holy Prophet's assertion on the adherence to the two weighty things during the Sermon of Ghadir only. They have decided the authenticity of the reports relating this topic. Al-Ṭabari compiled a two-volume book in this regard; he refers to the various series of narrators and ways of documentation of the sermon involved.

Regarding the other sermons of the Farewell Ḥajj, al-Tirmidhī, in *al-Sunan* 5/328, records:

Jābir ibn `Abdullāh has narrated that he saw the Holy Prophet on his she-camel; al-Qaṣwā', on the Day of `Arafāt, addressing, "O people! I am leaving among you what will constantly protect you against deviation if only you adhere to; the Book of Allāh and my people; my household."¹

It is also noticeable that a number of Sunni reference books have recorded the Holy Prophet's persistence on the adherence to the Qur`ān only, disregarding his household.

In Muslim's *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 4/41, we read the following:

The Holy Prophet said: "...I am leaving among you what will protect you against deviation as long as you commit yourselves to. It is the Book of Allāh."²

The following form has been recorded in *Majma` al-Zawā'id* 3/265:

The Holy Prophet said, "...O people! I am leaving among you what will perpetually protect you against deviation if

¹ Also, Abū-Tharr, Abū-Sa`id, Zayd ibn Arqam and Ḥudhayfah ibn Usayd. The narration is decided as strange and qualified, but with a rather doubtful narrator. Sa`id ibn Sulaymān and many other scholars, however, have related Zayd ibn al-Ḥasan's narrations.

² Also, Abū-Dāwūd: *al-Sunan* 1/427 and al-Bayhaqī: *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwah* 5/8. Ibn Mājah has recorded a similar narration in *al-Sunan* 2/1025.

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you only adhere to. It is the Book of Allāh. Apply yourselves to its instructions.”

Through a scrutinizing look at the narrations involved, it is easily understood that the mention of the Ahl al-Bayt has been deleted in such reports due to the narrators' oblivion or the firm supervision that the people of Quraysh imposed upon Ḥadīths. This is evidenced by the fact that the same reference books have related the same text completely in other positions. As a rule, the imperfect should be compared to the perfect.

Muslim, al-Bayhaqī, Ibn Mājah and al-Haythami have recorded various narrations regarding the Holy Prophet's repetitive importunate recommendation of the adhering to the Holy Qur'ān and his progeny together.

In Muslim's *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 7/122, the following is recorded:

Zayd ibn Arqam has narrated that in a place called 'Khum' and situated between Makkah and al-Madīnah, the Holy Prophet addressed to us, "All praise and thanks be to Allāh... O people! I am no more than a mortal. The apostle of my Lord (the angel of death) is about to come to me and I will respond. I am leaving among you two weighty things. First is the Book of Allāh that contains the guidance and the illumination. Hold fast on the Book of Allāh and adhere to it. Second is my household. I bind you with the Lord in the question of my household." He repeated it thrice.

Ḥuṣayn asked, "O Zayd! Who are his household? Are his women included?" "Yes, his women are included with his household," answered Zayd, "But his household are exclusively those whom are prohibited from receiving alms." "Who are they?" wondered Ḥuṣayn. "They are the sons of `Alī, `Aqīl, Ja`far and `Abbās," identified Zayd. "All those are prohibited from receiving alms?" asked Ḥuṣayn. "Yes, they all are," replied Zayd.¹

¹ Also, al-Bayhaqī: *al-Sunan* 7/30 and 10/114.

In *Majma' al-Zawā'id* 1/170, the following is recorded:

Zayd ibn Thābit has narrated that the Holy Prophet stated, "I am leaving among you two successors; the Book of Allāh and my household. They will never leave each other until they join me on the Divine Pool."¹

He has also recorded it on page 162 of part 9 and commentated that Aḥmad recorded it in an acceptable documentation.

Abū-Dāwūd has not referred to a clear narration respecting the two weighty things; rather, he has written an independent title—'al-Mahdī' in *al-Sunan* 2/309, in which he has recorded the Ḥadīth of the Twelve Imāms and the Holy Prophet's prediction of the coming of Imām al-Mahdī who would belong to the offspring of `Alī and Fāṭimah (a.s). He has also related the Holy Prophet's saying, "Even if there will be only a single day from the age of this earth, Allāh will send a man from my household who will fill in it with justice in the same way as it would be filled in with wrong."

The following point is provided as evidence on our claim that the Holy Prophet ordered people, during the Farewell Ḥajj sermons, to adhere to his household in addition to the Holy Qur`ān. His statements are the most eloquent since they enjoy unique specifications one of which is that there are definite expressions dedicated to definite occasions. This point is common between the Holy Qur`ān and the Ḥadīths. The Holy Prophet's expression, '...protect you against deviation if only you adhere to...' is individually dedicated to the instruction of the adherence to the Holy Qur`ān and his household. He had never used this expression on any occasion except the recently concerned one. In the same manner, the expression, 'I am leaving among you the two weighty things,' had never been used in any situation save this.

¹ In *al-Mu`jam al-Kabīr*, al-Ṭabarānī has recorded this whose reporters are trustful.

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When the Holy Prophet gave his orders to fetch a pen and a paper so that he would record a document 'protecting perpetually against deviation,' during his final ailment, people of Quraysh perceived that he had intended to commit Muslims to the compliance with the Holy Imāms of his progeny in a written form. So, they rejected this order very frankly and insolently.

In six positions of *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, al-Bukhārī has referred to this incident. The other reference books of Ḥadīth have reported `Umar's taking pride in playing the greatest role in the process of depriving the Holy Prophet of recording his will.

At any rate, we aim only at attracting the attentions to the point that the isolating of the Ahl al-Bayt from the Book of Allāh, during reporting some narrations respecting the sermons of the Farewell Ḥajj, violates the Prophet's style and his unequalled expression during his reference to the adherence to the Book of Allāh and his household together. Al-Tirmidhī, moreover, has related the two together.

In abstract, none can deny the authentic truth that the Holy Prophet predicted the coming of the Twelve Imāms and instructed people to adhere to the two weighty things and considered his immaculate household—`Alī, Fāṭimah, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn—as the equals of the Holy Qur`ān in the field of the compliance with them. All these matters were confirmed in the sermons of the Farewell Ḥajj. They however may be denied only by those who intend to be fanatic to the people of Quraysh in the face of the Exalted Lord and His Prophet (a.s).

The third principle of this base, which is the declaration of `Alī's religious and political succession, is evident through the Ḥadīth of Ghadīr. We lack enough scope to refer to the numerous documentations and texts concerning this topic. A great deal of reference books of theology and Ḥadīth, beginning with al-Ṭabarī's *al-Wilāyah* and ending with `Allāmah al-Aminī's *al-Ghadīr Encyclopedia*, have discussed this topic thoroughly.

The fourth principle, which is the keeping on the performance of the obligatory rites and the compliance with the leaders, has been discussed during mentioning paragraphs about the second basis. Al-Fakhr al-Rāzī, as well as many others, have admitted that Almighty Allāh will never instruct us to comply with other than sinless people without specifying conditions; otherwise this will be an instruction of disobedience. This admission comes through discussing Almighty Allāh's saying, "O ye who believe! Obey Allāh and obey the Apostle and those in authority from among you." Hence, men in authority intended in the Holy Verse must be sinless and, similarly, those intended in the Holy Prophet's sermons of the Farewell Ḥajj, as well as other occasions, must be sinless.

The fifth principle aims at immortalizing the treaty of Quraysh and Kinānah on blockading the Hāshimites. This has been recorded in al-Bukhārī's *al-Sahīh* 5/92:

Abū-Hurayrah has narrated that the Holy Prophet said, "Allāh willing, we will reside in al-Khayf, the place where they concluded the treaty of atheism and swore on it."

On pages 246 and 194 of parts 4 and 8, al-Bukhārī records narrations concerning the same topic. On page 158 of part 2, he records a narration with a more evident point:

Abū-Hurayrah has narrated that on the Naḥr Day, the Holy Prophet was in Minā when he stated, "Tomorrow, we will reside in al-Khayf of Banū-Kinānah, where they concluded the treaty of atheism and swore on it." He meant al-Muḥaṣṣab. People of Quraysh and Kinānah had concluded a treaty against the Hāshimites, sons of 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib and sons of al-Muṭṭalib. They agreed upon abstaining from giving in marriage or marrying any individual belonging to these houses and abstaining from selling them anything unless they give up the Holy Prophet.

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The same narration has been recorded in Muslim's *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 4/86 and Aḥmad's *al-Musnad* 2/322, 237, 263, 353 and 540. It has been also recorded in al-Bayhaqī's *al-Sunan* 5/160, yet in another form, in which he comments, "This report is recorded in al-Bukhārī's *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* and Muslim's where it is related to al-Awzā'ī."

Muslim has actually related it to al-Awzā'ī, while al-Bukhārī to Abū-Hurayrah. It seems that al-Bayhaqī has erred in this point or the report has not been found in the copy of al-Bukhārī's *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* upon which we depend. In any event, the following addition exists in Muslim's report related to al-Awzā'ī:

"...They should not give in marriage or marry any individual of these houses and no deal should be concluded between the two parties until they give up the Holy Prophet."

Furthermore, in the two forms of the report, there is a difference in the place of the Holy Prophet's residence. Al-Bukhārī mentions that the Holy Prophet declared that statement while he was in Minā, after performing the rites of 'Arafāt, while al-Ṭabarānī mentions that it occurred in Makkah, before the commencement of the Ḥajj rites. The latter is however more acceptable since it accounts for the Holy Prophet's concern in the subject and his caring for concentrating on it in Muslims' mentalities. Moreover, he had resided in that place and passed the night before performing the rites of 'Arafāt there when he was in his way to that mountain.

This matter has been previously mentioned during discussing al-Dārimi's narration. All the Tashriq days, the Holy Prophet resided in that place.

In *Majma' al-Zawā'id* 3/250, the following is recorded:

Ibn 'Abbās has narrated that one day before the Tarwiyah Day, the Holy Prophet stated, "Allāh willing, we will

reside in al-Khayf, the place where the atheists concluded their treaty and swore on it.”¹

The most remarkable point in this discussion is the Holy Prophet’s purpose beyond reminding people of Quraysh, and Muslims generally, of a great incident that took place in that place fourteen years ago. People of Quraysh aimed at burying that incident and making people forget it. Allāh the Exalted and His Messenger have intended to eternalize it in Muslims’ mentalities and history. The incident as a whole brings humiliation to people of Quraysh and elevates proudly the Holy Prophet and the Hāshimites. It is a sketch showing the ceaseless efforts of the despotic Qurayshite chiefs who could achieve unanimity of the clans and convince the tribes of Kinānah who lodged near the Holy Precinct to put the Hāshimites under a complete blockade—a blockade that lasted for long years. They practiced a comprehensive economic and social blockade against the Hāshimites for coercing them to give Muḥammad, the Holy Prophet, up so that they would be able to kill him or make him retreat from his Divine Mission.

Those despotic chiefs felt in sublime cheer for achieving a great success in congregating the clans of Quraysh and Kinānah for that satanic purpose. Their conference was held in al-Muḥaṣṣab in al-Khayf of Banū-Kinānah where they swore, by Lāt and ‘Uzzā,² on the perseverance on their goals. The document they wrote was signed by eighty chiefs and celebrities. The next day, they went on applying its paragraphs. Hence, that blockade lasted for four years and ended a few days before the Holy Prophet’s immigration to al-Madīnah.

The Hāshimites, including the unbelieving ones, combined with the Holy Prophet and tolerated many years of blockade, poverty, harm and insult in the Col of Abū-Ṭālib. Until

¹ In *al-Mu’jam al-Kabīr* and *al-Mu’jam al-Awṣaṭ*, al-Ṭabarānī relates this narration to trustful narrators.

² The major idols worshipped by the Arab atheists.

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Almighty Allāh relieved their suffering by a miracle, none of Muslims participated with them.

The Holy Prophet aimed at opening the new Muslims' minds on the history of their religion and the costs of the divine revelation in order that they may appreciate the value. Besides, he wanted them to pay attention to the core of Islām and the core of atheism so that they may discriminate. Another purpose was that he aimed at sending a practical message to the rest of the despotic chiefs of Quraysh who were still alive to inform them that they shouldered the offense of that atheism and shame. Nevertheless, they committed greater sins afterwards; they did not change their situation until the Holy Prophet gathered them under the swords of the Hāshimites and Anṣār on the day of the conquest of Makkah. Only then, they saved themselves from killing by the declaration of being Muslims. Thereafter, they planned for prevailing on the heritage of the Islāmic State that had been constructed by Almighty Allāh and His Messenger, against their desires.

Death and the sword of 'Alī ibn Abī-Tālib were the Lord's means of killing a few numbers of the chiefs of that satanic treaty of al-Khayf conference. A considerable number of them; such as Suhayl ibn 'Amr, Abū-Sufyān, 'Ikrimah ibn Abī-Jahl, Ṣafwān ibn Umayyah ibn Khalaf, Ḥakīm ibn Ḥizām, Ṣuhayb ibn Sinān, Abu'l-A'war al-Salamī and many others were still alive. They accompanied the Holy Prophet in the Farewell Ḥajj; and listened to his statements and could remember their near past; and were admired by the amnesty that he issued after he had stopped at submitting them to full evidence. Their extrinsic and hidden behavior, the induction, the Ahl al-Bayt's testimony, the course of history—all these things have proven their delight for the Holy Prophet's declaration of his imminent departure. They were preparing for a new method of blockading the Hāshimites in the next stage. Hence, the Holy Prophet wanted to remind them of their old plan and how the Lord foiled it and He would for sure foil the coming ones.

The seventh principle of this basis, which is warning people of Quraysh against playing the tyrant after the departure of the Holy Prophet, is recorded in our reference books of Ḥadīth. It is asserted by the narration recorded in *Majma` al-Zawā'id* as related to Fahad ibn al-Bahīrī who had listened to the sermon of the `Arafāt Day and reported from the Holy Prophet his saying:

“O people of Quraysh! Do not shoulder the worldly affairs while people shoulder the Hereafter. I will not avail you in the least before Allāh.”

Thanks to Allāh, Fahad was a Bedouin; had he belonged to Quraysh or Kinānah, he would have substituted the Hāshimites for people of Quraysh!

The Qurayshite narrators were wont to remove every statement that might injure or censure people of Quraysh. Therefore, Sunni reference books of Ḥadīth have been full of such ‘authentic’ reports regarding the Holy Prophet’s blaming and censuring the Hāshimites and sons of `Abd al-Muṭṭalib. In like manner, we could see tens of narrations dealing with the Holy Prophet’s praising people of Quraysh and ordering to choose leaders from them. All the Holy Prophet’s statements of blame and censure against people of Quraysh have been changed into statements of blame and censure against the Hāshimites, or have been repealed by inventing another saying or have been turned into praise for people of Quraysh!

Fahad ibn al-Bahīrī’s narration of the Holy Prophet’s forewarning people of Quraysh during the sermon of the Farewell Ḥajj has come in its proper time and place. People of Quraysh occupied a distinctive location among the Arabs; they were the leaders of the Arab Peninsula’s inhabitants during and after the Holy Prophet’s lifetime. Consequently, any danger that might face the Ahl al-Bayt would certainly be originated by them. As well, any movement of averting Islām and any wrongdoing that Muslims may suffer would certainly be originated by them. Other people would always follow them.

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The Holy Prophet is no more than a bearer of the Lord's Message and a conveyor of His claim against people. His mission is to warn and admonish so that he who would perish might perish by clear proof and he who would live might live by clear proof.

The eighth principle of this basis—warning the Ṣaḥābah against breaking faith and struggling on power—has been recorded in all reference books of Ḥadīth directly and indirectly.

The indirect way of relating this principle is the Holy Prophet's saying, "After me, return not to deviation by beheading each other."

In *al-Sunan* 2/1300, Ibn Mājah has dedicated an independent chapter to the Prophet's sayings regarding this topic. He has entitled it 'After Me, Return Not To Deviation By Beheading Each Other.' He has also recorded the Holy Prophet's sayings, "Woe is you! After me, return not to atheism by beheading each other," and "Kill not each other after me," and the like statements. This foreordains that the matter would fall after the Holy Prophet's departure. As a matter of fact, he frankly foretold them about their struggle on power after him. He used the maximum degree of eloquence, as well as sympathy, and exercised all styles of forewarning and admonition so as to convey the Lord's argument against them so that they will not provide their unfamiliarity of the topic when they will be submitted before the Lord.

Those admonished people were none but his companions. They were not the Jews nor the other Arab tribes nor the chiefs of Quraysh exclusively.

The Islāmic State by now prevailed on all over the Arab Peninsula and the Holy Prophet's anticipation of the struggle for power was not addressed to the tribes, such as Hawāzin and Ghatafān, who willingly or unwillingly were submitted to Islām, since these tribes had nothing to do with the leadership

of the Islāmic State. Supposing they did, they would not obtain any position unless the Ṣaḥābah would permit.

Regarding the Jews, they were defeated and a part of them was banished out of the Arab Peninsula; they therefore had no considerable military power at that period. Despite the firmness of their trickeries, they would not thrive unless they would pass by the Ṣaḥābah.

The chiefs of Quraysh lacked the dare to demand with a position of leadership although they had the predominance upon the majority of the Qurayshite tribes as well as two thousand warriors. That was because of their having been the Holy Prophet's 'released' individuals whose souls had already been in the hand of him. This meant that the Holy Prophet had had the right to kill or enslave them; yet, he chose the second option and released them afterward. They would have no hope to hold a position of leadership unless that small number of the Qurayshite Muhājirūn would permit.

As a result, the Holy Prophet's forewarning against the struggle for power after him is restricted to his companions, Muhājirūn and Anṣār exclusively.

Here comes the role of the direct forewarning, which lacks personal names only. It came from the unseen world and, more precisely, from the Lord, providing the end result of those deviating and deviated companions.

Almighty Allāh commissioned Archangel Gabriel to carry the mission to the Holy Prophet. It showed the coming day on which the Lord will choose Muḥammad (a.s) for the chiefship of the grand assemblage. Archangel Gabriel will hand him the pennon of al-Ḥamd and the Holy Prophet will deliver it to 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib; the bearer of the Holy Prophet's pennon in this world and the Hereafter. The assemblage will be under the leadership of Muḥammad in whom Adam will take pride. He will thus be called 'Abū-Muḥammad (the father of Muḥammad)' The Lord will give Muḥammad exclusively the

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right of intercession (Shafā'ah) and the Divine Pool of Kawthar. Then, delegations of all the nations will approach him for seeking intercession. He will intercede and grant the card of drinking from that Divine Pool whose water will change their physiological structure so that they will be fit to abide in Paradise forever. When it will be his companions' turn, a surprise will occur. The Lord will disallow the Holy Prophet to intercede for those individuals whom, subsequently will be deprived of drinking from that Pool. Then, the angels of anguish will be ordered to take them to Hellfire. This is the morrow of those companions, communicated by the ever most true-tongued individual on this earth.

It is indeed a terrible scene. Archangel Gabriel, the honest, carried it to the Holy Prophet so that he would inform his people, during the Farewell Ḥajj, about such a predestined occurrence. It is the gravest catastrophe for the Ṣaḥābah. The reason is that they would cause the ummah to fall in the greatest catastrophe.

Except the like of scattered animals of cattle, none of them will escape. This picture has been recorded in the most authentic narrations reported by the pro-Ṣaḥābah. It is an extraordinary expression. Those scattered animals would be those escaping the cattle. This means that the entire group of the Ṣaḥābah will be in Hellfire and only a few of them will escape it. Moreover, the Holy Prophet explained that the Ṣaḥābah who should be in Hellfire are of two groups, indicating that there are two lines taken by two parties of them. This fact has been proven through the forecited report of al-Ḥākim who has decided it as authentic on the criterion of Muslim and al-Bukhārī. In this report, he records:

“Another group will be occluded, too. None will escape but a few groups like the scattered animals in a cattle.”

It is a distressing question, indeed. It is hardly acceptable and credible, especially for Muslims who have been brought up on the cherishing for all the Ṣaḥābah whom have been described as ‘the best century’ and ‘the unique generation’ and “My

companions are like the stars; if you follow any of them, you will be guided to the right.”

It will be a great shock for such Muslims if they are faced by that horrible satanic picture of those Ṣaḥābah.

Had it been any person other than the Holy Prophet who uttered these words, they would have regarded him as one of the enemies of Islām aiming at ruining this religion by means of maligning against the Ṣaḥābah. Yet, the Holy Prophet himself uttered these words and, as an undeniable reality, he does not speak out of desire. Nevertheless, people of Quraysh claim that the Holy Prophet might speak in satisfaction and anger; and his words in anger must not be taken as evidence. If truth be told, the Holy Prophet’s words are always true because they are produced by the Divine Revelation of the Lord of the world! Truth is grievous; and it is not necessary that truths are always delightful. Similarly, the word of right is not always fitting our desires.

We can do nothing for the too many narrations demonstrating that the Ṣaḥābah will be degraded, rejected and precluded from approaching the Divine Pool on the Resurrection Day. These narrations occupy a great area in the major Sunni reference books of Ḥadīth! Furthermore, they occupy a greater area in the other reference books of Ḥadīth all of which confirm that none of those companions will escape from Hellfire except a few like the scattered animals of a cattle.

According to the Arabic-Arabic dictionary of al-Jawharī, the Holy Prophet’s statement refers to the animals of a cattle that lost their supervisor.

The most remarkable point in this discussion is the realization of the reason beyond the Holy Prophet’s reference to this topic during the Farewell Ḥajj.

Primarily, the reason is that Almighty Allāh ordered him to propose this topic in that time. The Holy Prophet has never spoken out of desire; and unless Almighty Allāh had told him

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about the future conducts of his companions, he would not have known anything. Let us now put the following questions:

What would those Ṣaḥābah do after the Holy Prophet's departure? Would they return to atheism? Would they apostatize from Islām, as the Prophet describes? Would they misrepresent this religion? Would they kill each other for power?

The answer of our Sunni brethren for all these questions and their likes is very simple: You must accept what your Prophet had said and then shut your mouth so as to avoid being Rafidite—rejecter and protester.

Other questions can also be cited: What for did the Lord choose this sort of warning? What for did He not kill those individuals who would deviate thereafter or direct His Prophet to kill them or expose them before Muslims so that they would be avoided?

The answer is that the Lord has always made His servants subservient to His argument and left them to act freely so that 'he who would perish might perish by clear proof and he who would live might live by clear proof.' Allāh, at length, 'cannot be questioned concerning what He does and they will be questioned. 21/23' He is the Possessor of His servants and has the right to interrogate them; He does not make errors; therefore, He is not submitted to inquiry; He is the most Knowledgeable, and the most knowledgeable must not be accused by those of lower levels.

Another question may be also cited here: What were the results of the Holy Prophet's warning? Did Muslims, including the Ṣaḥābah, hurry up towards the Holy Prophet asking for the straight path? Did they ask him to nominate a man they would follow thereafter so that those dangerous Ṣaḥābah would not lead them astray?

The answer is that the Holy Prophet did nominate the two weighty things for people to follow. He named the Book of

Allāh and his household. He also foretold about twelve godly Imāms to come after him.

Before and after the Farewell Ḥajj, the Holy Prophet defined his household several times. He mentioned them by names; `Alī, Fāṭimah, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn (a.s). Many reports recorded in the reference books of Ḥadīth have declared that the Holy Prophet had identified them personally when he covered them with a Yemeni cloak and declared, "Those are my people; my household." Sufficed not by these procedures and declaration, the Holy Prophet caused Muslims to stop under the hot weather in al-Juḥafah in Ghadīr Khumm and took `Alī from the arm to announce his religious and political succession and leadership. He then fixed a tent for him so that Muslims would greet him confessing of his leadership and congratulating on this divinely commissioned position. The Holy Prophet then ordered his women to congratulate `Alī, too. They approached the tent and offered congratulations admitting loyalty to Imām `Alī.

In his final ailment, the Holy Prophet wanted to present the succession of Imām `Alī in a written form; he asked the attendants to bring him a pen and a paper so that he would record a document protecting them from deviation forever. Unfortunately, they rejected unrelentingly and said, "Well! Thanks, Messenger! We decided to go astray after you! This decision has been taken with full awareness, intention and option. We do not want you to record a document obliging us to obey `Alī, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn and nine individuals from al-Ḥusayn's offspring." Hence, they said shamelessly, "Do not bring him any pen or paper!" What could the Holy Prophet make more?

Fifth Basis

This basis stands for the punishment that those who would reject the instruction of the obligatory adherence to the Holy Imāms will encounter. It will befall in the Hereafter and fit the Holy Prophet's responsibility for conveying and witnessing the

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acts of his nation. The expression of this punishment is firm and unbending; it came in the form of a divine decision of cursing and condemning the rejecters of the Holy Prophet's instructions regarding his household and indicated that the repentance of such individuals would never be accepted and that they would deserve the eternal torment in Hellfire. Its coming in the last of the Holy Prophet's sermon might give the impression indicating its firmness and decisiveness.

The paragraph is cited in the report recorded in *Tuḥaf al-Uqūl*, a Shiite reference book, as well as a good deal of Sunni reference books asserting that it was mentioned during the Holy Prophet's sermon in the Farewell Ḥajj.

Let us read the following as quoted from Ibn Mājah's *al-Sunan* 2/905:

'Amr ibn Khārijah narrated that the Holy Prophet was on the back of his riding animal, while it was breathing heavily due to the hot weather, when he said:

"... Curse of the Lord, the angels and all people be on those who ascribe themselves to other than their fathers or masters. Allāh will not accept their excuse or compensation."

Al-Tirmidhī, in *al-Sunan* 3/293, records the following:

Abū-Umāmah al-Bāhili narrated: I hear the Holy Prophet saying in the sermon of the Farewell Ḥajj:

"Ceaseless curse of the Lord be on those who ascribe themselves to other than their fathers or masters."

The following is quoted from Aḥmad's *al-Musnad* 4/239:

Amr ibn Khārijah narrated that the Holy Prophet was in Minā riding his animal, which was breathing heavily due to the hot weather, when he said:

“Curse of the Lord, the angels and all people be on them who ascribe themselves to other than their fathers or masters as a desire to neglect them.”

In Aḥmad’s *al-Musnad* 4/187, we read the following:

“... Curse of the Lord, the angels and all people be on those who ascribe themselves to other than their fathers or masters. May Allāh not accept their excuses or compensations.”

Aḥmad has related different reports of the same meaning and recorded them in the same previous pages and the preceding ones. He has also recorded it on pages 238 and 186. Al-Dārimi has recorded it in *al-Sunan* 2/244 and 344. In *Majma` al-Zawā`id* 5/14, the narration is reported from Abū-Mas`ūd. Al-Bukhārī has recorded the reports in *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 2/221 and 4/67.

The reader may wonder the relationship between the statements involved and the Holy Prophet’s instruction of the adherence to his household. The above-mentioned paragraphs emphasize that the Holy Prophet cursed those who ascribe themselves to other than their fathers and the slaves who disavow their masters and claim other masters.

To answer it, we have to cite the following Islāmic ruling: A son who disavows his father and claims another man’s filiation but then regrets and returns to his real father, his repentance is admissible. In like manner, a slave who leaves his master and claims slavery of another man but then repents and returns to his master after a while, his repentance is legally acceptable.

These rulings oppose the Holy Prophet’s declaration that the divine curse, in its harshest form, is ceaselessly poured on those who ascribe themselves to other than their fathers or masters.

Such a divine punishment is accepted only in cases of serious excess, such as apostasy. It is unfit to issue such a judgment against an ignorant son or slave who disavows his father or master.

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Moreover, some reports have assured that the Holy Prophet confirmed the atheism and apostasy of such individuals, such as those recorded in al-Bayhaqī's *al-Sunan* 8/26, *Majma' al-Zawā'id* 1/97, *Kanz al-'Ummāl* 5/872 and many others. As an example, the following report is recorded in *Kanz al-'Ummāl* 10/324, 326, 327 and 16/255 respectively:

“He that disavows his masters is ripping the bind of Islām out of his neck.”

“He that disavows his masters should find himself a place in Hellfire.”

“He that disavows his masters is an atheist.”

“He that disavows his masters is as same as he who disbelieves in what the Lord has revealed to his Messenger.”

These authentic sayings support the fact that such decisive rulings have nothing to do with those who disavow their fathers or masters unless ‘fathers’ and ‘masters’ indicate something else. It is also supported by the aforesaid reports and many others in which the Holy Prophet does not refer to fathers and sons at all; rather he stops at mentioning masters and their servants. Naturally, a son's disavowal of his father is more serious than a slave's disavowal of his master. Nevertheless, such reports carry a punishment that is more serious. In addition, it is supported by the fact that this ruling, in a good number of reports communicating the Holy Prophet's sermons of the Farewell Ḥajj, is mentioned directly after the reference to the exclusive peculiarity given to the Ahl al-Bayt; namely, the Khums (one-fifth rate). The Ahl al-Bayt are prohibited from receiving the alms.

In Aḥmad's *al-Musnad* 4/186, we read the following:

The Holy Prophet was riding his animal when he said, “Alms are not allowed for my household and me; any sum of alms even if it was as much as this.” Meanwhile, he took a single hair from the back of his animal and went

on, "Allāh curse him whoever ascribes himself to other than his father or master."

The same report is recorded on page 293 of part 5 of *Kanz al-Ummāl*. On page 235 of part 10 of the same book, the following form is recorded:

"...He whoever ascribes himself to other than his master should find him a place in Hellfire."

In Shiite reference books of Ḥadīth; the Ahl al-Bayt's reports, this statement has been frequently and authentically recorded in the Holy Prophet's sermons of the Farewell Ḥajj. Besides, it is a part of the Ghadīr sermon.

In *Bihār al-Anwār* 37/123, we read the following:

Shaykh al-Mufīd, in *al-Amālī*, has recorded on the authority of Zayd ibn Arqam that he said: I heard the Holy Prophet saying in Ghadīr Khumm, "Alms are not allowed for my household and me. Allāh may curse those who ascribe themselves to other than their fathers or masters. The baby is to the bed owner while the prostitute's share is the stones. An heir is not allowed to make a will. You have heard and seen me. He whoever forges lies against me must find himself a place in Hellfire. I will be preceding you to the Divine Pool. I will take pride in you before the other nations on the Resurrection Day. Blacken not my face. I will save men from Hellfire and others will be taken from my hands and sent therein. Allāh is my Master and I am the master of each male and female believer. `Alī will be the master of anyone who has regarded me as his master."¹

In *al-Umdah* 344, Ibn al-Biṭrīq, a Shiite scholar, comments:

¹ A similar report has been recorded on page 186 of the same book and quoted from *Bishārat al-Islām*.

The narrations recorded in the major reference books of Ḥadīth and reporting the Holy Prophet's saying, "Allāh may curse those who ascribe themselves to other than their fathers or masters," indicate the insistence on the obligatory adherence to Amīr al-Mu'minīn (Commander of the faithful believers) `Alī. Supporting this claim clearly is the most authenticated saying of the Holy Prophet, "`Alī will be the master of anyone who has regarded me as his master." The Holy Prophet then adds, "O Allāh! Accede to him who accedes to `Alī, be the enemy of him who antagonizes `Alī, support him who supports `Alī and disappoint him who disappoints him."

Hence, `Alī is being the master of those whose master was the Holy Prophet, that is all the believers. Also `Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb said to `Alī (a.s) directly after that declaration, "Congratulations! You have become the master of every male and female believer." Or, according to other ways of narration, "You have become my master and the master of every male and female believer."

Almighty Allāh only has the right to select for this position; He, the Exalted, gave it to His Messenger Muḥammad (a.s) and ordered him to give it to `Alī Amīr al-Mu'minīn after him. This meaning is supported by Almighty Allāh's saying, "Only Allāh is your Master and His Messenger and those who believe; those who keep up prayers and pay the Zakāt while they bow. 6/55"¹

On that account, the Holy Prophet's saying, "...those who ascribe themselves to other than their fathers," stands for those who disavow loyalty to Imām `Alī. We can refer this discussion to the Holy Prophet's saying, "O `Alī! You and I are the fathers of this nation."

¹ This is a word-for-word translation of the Holy Verse. The following is its meaning:

Only are Allāh and His Messenger and the believer who gave alms while he was in the ritual genuflection of a prayer your masters.

Curse of the Lord be on those who disobey their fathers.

Sunni and Shiite reference books of Ḥadīth have also recorded that the aforementioned saying was a part of the script, which was hanged to the Holy Prophet's sword and given to `Alī in heritage. In *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 4/67, al-Bukhārī records this narration. Similarly, Muslim, in *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 4/115 and 216, records it in various ways of narration. Like many others, al-Tirmidhī also records it in *al-Sunan* 3/297. As a matter of fact, they insist on these narrations since they contained, as they claim, `Alī's confession that the Holy Prophet had not inherited his household any knowledge except a copy of the Holy Qur`ān and that paper, which had been hanged to his sword. Narrations, however, assure that the Holy Prophet cursed those who disavow their masters.

In Shiite reference books of Ḥadīth, there is a fourth occasion on which the Holy Prophet uttered the wording of curse; the Qurayshite 'released' individuals moved to al-Madinah and partook the hypocrites in their efforts against the Ahl al-Bayt. Once, they said, "Regarding his existence among the Hāshimites, Muḥammad is just like a date-palm tree planted in a junkyard." When he was informed about this saying, the Holy Prophet ordered `Alī to ascend the minbar and answer them.

In *Biḥār al-Anwār* 38/204, we read the following:

Al-Aṣḥbagh ibn Nubātah narrated the following on the authority of `Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib (a.s):

Once, the Holy Prophet summoned me and ordered to ascend his minbar and declare. "Curse of Allāh and curse of His archangels and messaged Prophets and my curse be on him whoever disavows his father or master as well as him whoever wrongs his wageworker." As I did, no one commented except `Umar ibn al-Khattāb. "O Abu'l-Ḥasan," said he, "You have conveyed. But they were ambiguous words." I was back to the Holy Prophet to inform about `Umar's saying. The Holy Prophet asked me to convey, "O people! We should never communicate

words to you unless we have their interpretation. I am your father. I am your master. I am your wageworker.

A narration that is recorded in Furāt ibn Ibrāhīm al-Kūfī's *Tafsīr* 392 proves that the Holy Prophet uttered the same statement on a fifth occasion:

... Fāṭimah bint (daughter of) al-Ḥusayn narrated on the authority of al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī that he said:

When the Holy Prophet was in al-Madīnah, some of the Muhājirūn offered him a part of their properties to help in managing any unexpected matters he might counter. For a while, he nodded his head down and, finally, refused their offer saying, "I am not ordered to take anything from your properties." Soon after that, Archangel Gabriel descended from the Heavens carrying Almighty Allāh's saying, "Say: I do not ask for you any reward for it but love my near relatives." As the Holy Prophet conveyed this Verse to them, Muhājirūn went out grumbling at this commandment, saying to each other that he had intended only to submit them to the sons of 'Abd al-Muttalib forever. The Holy Prophet then summoned 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib and ordered him to ascend his minbar and address to people, "He that wrongs a wageworker regarding his wage should seek himself a place in Hellfire. He that disavows his master should seek himself a place in Hellfire. He that denies his parents should seek himself a place in Hellfire."

A man stood up and asked for an interpretation for these words. 'Alī went back to the Holy Prophet and conveyed that man's request. "Woe to the people of Quraysh because of the interpretation of these words," the Holy Prophet repeated thrice and then said, "'Alī: Go and tell them that I am the wageworker the obedience to whom is an order issued in the Heavens. You and I are the masters of the believers. You and I are the fathers of the believers."

THE PROPHETS' NEED FOR PEOPLE'S PROTECTION
DURING CONVEYING THE MISSIONS

During the interpretation of the Verse of 'Ismah,¹ the pro-Qurayshite exegetes have committed two fatal mistakes:

First, they have misrepresented the actual conception of the missions of the Prophets including Muḥammad (a.s).

Second, they have attempted to conceal the reality of people of Quraysh after the conquest of Makkah. They have intended to draw the Verse away from these incidents and tried to persuade Muslims that people of Quraysh—the polytheists and the center of the devils—all of a sudden, changed into those pious people who received piety in a period of a single night and day and went on leading people to Islām and its right path.

QUR'ĀNIC SENSE OF CONVEYANCE

The Holy Qur'ān carries a simple meaning of conveyance; the messengers' explicating the Divine Mission and leaving the option for people, and the Lord, not the Prophets, will be the judge. Hence, a number of principles can be concluded from this deep basis:

First, a Prophet is in urgent need to guarantee the right of free opinions so that he will be able to transmit and convey his Lord's mission adequately. This was the Prophets' preliminary demand from their nations.

Second, their mission is no more than conveyance. Before Prophet Abraham (a.s), jihād was not imposed upon the Prophets; yet Almighty Allāh imposed it upon Abraham and the

¹ "O Apostle! Deliver what had been revealed to you from your Lord; and if you do it not, then you have not delivered His message, and Allāh will protect you from the people; surely Allāh will not guide the unbelieving people. 5/67"

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coming Prophets¹ so as to remove the obstacles that impeded the process of conveyance or to face the atheists' assaults against the believers who chose the true religion and organized their lives accordingly.

Third, no one should be obliged to convert to the 'new' religion. It is quite free for everybody to choose any course. Hence, the law of guidance and deviation ought to be effective and the capability to do good and evil ought to be available.

Fourth, the purpose of the exercise of conveying the Divine Missions is to provide to the Lord clear, complete and perfect claims against people in order that they will not have any excuses when they will be resurrected for judgment. To provide claims in the divine religions is an original and perpetual pivot in the tasks of the Prophets. When a Prophet conveys rulings to people and explicates clearly their beliefs and duties, he will activate the Lord's claim and, as a result, perfect the mission and release himself from any responsibility.

Everyone is individually responsible for his response to the Prophets, be positive or negative, as well as his acts. A Prophet is not responsible in this regard at all. Almighty Allāh says, "Say: Then Allāh's is the conclusive argument; so if He pleased, He would certainly guide you all." Let us now cite some proofs, quoted from the Holy Qur`ān, on this discussion:

Prophet Noah says to his people, "I deliver to you the messages of my Lord and I offer you good advise and I know from Allāh what you do not. 7/62"

About Prophet Shu`ayb, the Holy Qur`ān says, "So he turned away from them and said: O my people! I delivered to you the messages of my Lord and I gave you good advice; how will I then be sorry for an unbelieving people? 7/93"

¹ Note that all the Prophets who came after Abraham were his descendants.

About Prophet Hūd, the Holy Qur`ān says, "But if you turn back, then indeed I have delivered to you the message with which I have been sent to you, and my Lord will bring another people in your place, and you cannot do Him any harm; surely my Lord is the Preserver of all things. 11/57"

Referring to the common point in the Prophets' missions, Almighty Allāh says, "Is then aught incumbent upon the apostles except a plain delivery of the message? 16/35" "They said: Our Lord knows that we are most surely messengers to you. And nothing devolves on us but a clear deliverance of the message. 36/16-7"

In fact, the concepts of the divine conveyance are too many to be discussed here. As they are cited from Qur`ānic texts and Ḥadiths, they form a perfect hypothesis. Almighty Allāh describes His religion and Book as a conveyance; "This is a conveyance for people and that they may be warned thereby, and that they may conceive that He is One Allāh and that those possessed of understanding may mind. 14/52"

The Holy Qur`ān has also been described as a conveyance for the coming generations who will receive Islām; "Say: what is the weightiest in testimony? Say: Allāh is witness between you and me; and this Qur`ān has been revealed to me that with it I may warn you and whomsoever it reaches. 6/19"

The Lord praised His Prophets for their trust and courage in conveying His messages in spite of people's resistance and mockery; "Those who deliver the messages of Allāh and fear Him, and do not fear any one but Allāh; and Allāh is sufficient to take account. 33/39"

Almighty Allāh considers the process of receiving and conveying the divine revelation as one of the most serious and critical actions that require distinctive personalities and precise divine guardianship; "The Knower of the unseen! So He does not reveal His secrets to any except to him whom He chooses as an apostle; for surely He makes a guard to march before him

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and after him so that He may know that they have truly delivered the messages of their Lord, and He encompasses what is with them, and He records the number of all things. 72/26-7”

THE CONVEYANCE OF OUR PROPHET

The most interesting point in this regard in the conveyance of Prophet Muḥammad (a.s) whose mission and responsibility is described by Almighty Allāh as, “And obey Allāh and obey the Apostle and be cautious; but if you turn back, then know that only a clear deliverance of the message is incumbent on Our apostle. 5/92” “Say: Obey Allāh and obey the Apostle; but if you turn back, then on him rests that which is imposed on him and on you rests that which is imposed on you; and if you obey him, you are on the right way; and nothing rests on the Apostle but clear deliverance of the message. 24/54” “So, if they submit then indeed they follow the right way; and if they turn back, then upon you is only the delivery of the message, and Allāh sees the servants. 3/20” “But if they turn aside, We have not sent you as a watcher over them. On you is only to deliver the message. 42/48”

مرکز تحقیقات کتب و اسناد اسلامی

Hence, the Lord sent our Prophet (a.s) on the bases of the divine message formulation and conveyance with which the Prophets were sent; namely, the rule of substantiating the Lord’s argument upon people while avoiding coercing them to admit it. This is the very meaning of Almighty Allāh’s saying, “On you is only to deliver the message.” The Holy Prophet also said, “I have been ordered to fight people until they say ‘There is no god but Allāh’ and if they say it, they will guard their souls and properties against me.”

This coercion stands for submitting the Christians and Jews to live peacefully with Muslims and submitting the paganists and polytheists to enter the general frame of Islām. When one obeys, another disobeys, a third one takes the right path and a fourth deviates, this is Allāh’s concern, since He is the one and only Judge. On that account, the conveyance of the divine message will naturally be in need for protection, otherwise

people of Quraysh would assassinate him, defame his promulgation or preclude people from listening to him after they would have realized the real size of the danger that such a promulgation causes on their authority and gods. Despite the fact that the secret, as well as the seen, divine attention to the Prophets is of various forms, the Lord's norm about His Messengers is to leave their protection for the natural factors, yet with a sum of divine attention.

As a matter of fact, there is no single proof on the claim that the Lord would always guarantee His Prophets' safety from injuries or assassination, as well as any sort of harm they might counter in their lifetimes.

We have previously referred to reports respecting the continuity of guarding the Holy Prophet to the end of his honorable life. It is to add that he asked the Arab clans to guarantee his protection for conveying his Lord's Message. Let us listen to this narration recorded by Ibn Hushām, in *al-Sīrah* 2/23:

Rabī'ah ibn `Abbād narrated the following: I was a young boy when I accompanied my father in Minā where the Holy Prophet was used to attending in the quarters of the Arab clans addressing to them, "I am the messenger of Allāh to you. I instruct you to worship Allāh alone, avoid associating others with Him, give up the worship of anything except Him, believe in me, give me credence and protect me so that I will be able to carry my Lord's Message."¹

Moreover, many reports have asserted that the Holy Prophet, during the homage of Anṣār, asked them to protect his household and him as same as they protect their families and souls. In this regard, Ibn Hushām, in *al-Sīrah* 2/38, says:

¹ Also, Al-Ṭabarī's *Tārīkh* 2/83, al-Ya`qūbi: *al-Tārīkh* 2/36 and ibn Kathīr's *al-Sīrah* 2/155.

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After he had recited some Qur`ānic Verses and urged them to embrace Islām, the Holy Prophet said to Anṣār, "I conclude with you the covenant that you should protect me as same as you protect your sons and women." Al-Barrā' ibn Mu`arwir took the Holy Prophet's hand and shouted, "Yes, by Him Who sent you with the right we swear that we will protect you as same as we protect our people. Confirm your covenant with us, Allāh's messenger! We are, by Allāh, men of wars and heroism. We have been inheriting so from our great fathers."¹

Accordingly, our claim has been proven; the Holy Prophet, following the previous Prophets' norms, asked for protection so that he would be able to carry the divine message. Anṣār contributed in this protection. The Lord gave victory to His Prophet who defeated his enemies—the polytheists and the Jews and he could prevail on the Arab Peninsula, Yemen, Bahrain and the Gulf up to the borders of Syria threatening the Romans. In AH 10, he was about to depart to the Exalted Associate. He received Sūrah of al-Mā'idah in which he was ordered to convey the message and that he would be protected against people. What changes occurred? What made the Divine Revelation order him to convey in the last stage of the conveyance? What made the Holy Prophet need for protection against people after he had ruled such a great state?

For scholars, it is un-supposed that the Holy Prophet needed a physical protection since the Exalted Lord had already willed it would endure naturally. Hence, the protection intended in this regard should be mental. Secondly, it is conclusive that the conveyance intended in the Verse should stand for a remarkable

¹ Also, al-Ṭabarī's *Tārīkh* 2/92, *Uṣd al-Ghābah* 1/174, *'Uyūn al-Athar* 1/217, Ibn Kathīr's *al-Sīrah* 2/198 and Aḥmad's *al-Musnad* 3461. As he records it in his *Majma' al-Zawā'id* 6/44, al-Haythamī comments that Aḥmad and al-Ṭabarānī recorded it. Aḥmad has related it to narrators that are admitted in the most authentic reference books of *Ḥadīth* except Ibn Ishāq. In *Kanz al-'Ummāl*, the same narration has been reported in 1/328 and 8/29.

matter that it would be very much difficult for people to accept. It is also clear that 'people' intended in the Verse must have indicated the hypocrites, none else, who pretended being Muslims, because all the serious matters had been already conveyed and the mission had nothing else to convey. Besides, after the revelation of that Verse, the Holy Prophet did not declare any expected matter. Consequently, the Verse would be meaningless, Almighty Allāh forbid, if it did not refer to the protection against suspecting the Holy Prophet; some people would doubt him when they would listen to him nominating his household as the coming political and religious leaders of this nation. This is the only meaning supporting the general concept of the Verse. As an interpretation, let us interpret the Verse as follows:

O Apostle! You are only a conveyor and messenger. You are not responsible for the coming events or results since this is your Lord's affair. Deliver what had been revealed to you from your Lord via Archangel Gabriel in the matter concerning 'Alī; the matter you have frequently intended to mention but the hypocrites prevented you. And if you do it not, then you have neither delivered His message nor substantiated your Lord's argument against people. The leadership of your progeny is not a personal matter, as the hypocrites think. It is a basic part of this sealing, united epistle. When a part fails, the mass will fail. Similarly, when a part of the claim fails, the entire claim will fail. And Allāh will protect you from the people; people of Quraysh who may doubt you after you will convey this matter that is very difficult for them to admit. This process will be completed peacefully. Neither interruption nor will apostasy occur; hence, you will be seen as a perfect conveyor of your Lord's message and you will complete your Lord's argument on your nation as well. However, 'Alī will require to fight these people for the interpreting the Qur'ān in the same way as you fought them for its revelation. Surely, Allāh will not guide the unbelieving people who will wrong your progeny after you and, subsequently, will wrong your nation. They will change Allāh's favor into atheism and drive this nation into combats and collapse.

PEOPLE OF QURAYSH; THE REASON BEYOND THE ADDITIONAL PROTECTION

From the Holy Verse as well as various narrations, we can conclude that the Holy Prophet's conveyance of his Lord's message regarding the leadership of his progeny might have caused a grave quake in the ummah and a serious threat against his prophethood. What are the reason and circumstances that might have caused such a sweeping catastrophe? Neither the Arab tribes nor the Jews nor could the Christians have any opinion or intruded themselves in the matter of the Holy Prophet's nominating his progeny as his successors. The only source of danger that might have precluded this affair was people of Quraysh.

It seemed that the Holy Prophet despaired of carrying on the affair as he had anticipated that people would apostatize as soon as he would declare it frankly and formally because of the tribal structure of Quraysh.

QURAYSH; THE ROOT OF VILLAINS

Qurayshite chiefs are the evil face of Ishmael's offspring; yet, the Holy Prophet and Abū-Ṭālib, his uncle, doubted those chiefs' belonging to Prophet Ishmael. They joined the intricate characters of the Jews—their cousins, to the tyranny of the violent chiefs of the Bedouin tribes. Except the Hāshimites and a few others, people of Quraysh were the source of tyranny and Satanism. Almighty Allāh has compared those chiefs to Pharaoh; "Surely We have sent to you an Apostle, a witness against you, as We sent an apostle to Pharaoh. But Pharaoh disobeyed the apostle, so We laid on him a violent hold. 73/15-6"

As he was watching the victims of the battle of Badr, the Holy Prophet said, "Allāh may punish you—the evil band badly. You belied me while I am true-tongued and mistrusted me while I am trustworthy." As his eyes fell on the dead body of Abū-Jahl ibn Hushām, he said, "This man is more tyrant than Pharaoh. As Pharaoh despaired of

his life, he submitted to Allāh; but when this man despaired of his life, he called forth the idols—Lāt and 'Uzzā."¹

Ibn Hushām, in *al-Sīrah* 3/207, has recorded the following saying of Abū-Jahl:

Sons of 'Abd-Manāf and we competed on honor; we served food when they had served it; we fought when they had fought; we gave when they had given; but when we both had the same scale and became like two racehorses, they claimed a Prophet receiving revelation from the heavens among them. How can we ever have such a privilege? Nay, by Allāh; we will never believe him nor will we give credence to him.²

The following is quoted from al-Qummī, *Tafsīr* 1/276:

The Holy Prophet addressed to people of Quraysh, "The Lord has sent me to destroy the kings of this whole world and drag their realms to you. Respond to what I am calling forth and you will be the kings of the Arabs, and the non-Arabs will submit to you and you will be kings in Paradise." Out of his envy, Abū-Jahl spoke, "O Allāh! If Muḥammad's words are the right of Thee, then rain skyey stones upon us or inflict painful agony upon us." He then added, "The Hāshimites and we were like two racehorses; we fought when they had fought and speared when they had speared and cooked when they had cooked. When they and we were of the same scale, they claimed a Prophet among them. Nay, we will never admit such a thing among the Hāshimites nor sons of Makhzūm."

In *al-Mustatraf* 1/58, al-Abshīhī records the following:

¹ Sayyid Hāshim al-Baḥrānī: *Ḥilyat al-Abrār* 1/127, Shaykh al-Ṭūsī: *al-Amālī* 1/316 as quoted from al-Majlisī: *Biḥār al-Anwār* 19/272 h. 11 and al-Haythamī: *Majma' al-Zawā'id* 6/91.

² Ibn Sayyid al-Nās: *'Uyūn al-Athar* 1/146 and Ibn Kathīr: *al-Sīrah* 1/506.

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Mocking at a man from Yemen, Mu`āwiyah said, "How ill-minded people you are! You selected a woman as your leader!"¹ The Yemeni answered, "But I know people who are more ill-minded; these are your people! When the Holy Prophet called you to embrace Islām, you answered, 'O Allāh! If this is the truth of Thee, then rain us with skyey stones or inflict painful agony upon us.' You should have said, 'O Allāh! If this is the truth of Thee, then guide us to it.'"

In *al-Sirāt al-Mustaqīm* 3/49, al-Bayādī records the following:

Mu`āwiyah once spoke, "Allāh favored people of Quraysh in three things; He says, 'And warn your near clans,' 'Surely, it is a remembrance for you and your people,' and 'For the protection of the Quraysh.'" Answering him, a man from Anṣār said, "Slow down, Mu`āwiyah! Allāh said, 'And your people belied it,' and you are one of his people, and said, 'Your people precluded against it,' and you are one of those people, and said, 'My people deserted this Qur`ān,' and you are one of his people. These are three for your three. We can add if you add." Thus, Mu`āwiyah was ashamed.

When Almighty Allāh inflicted years of agony upon Pharaoh and his people, they asked Prophet Moses to implore to the Lord for alleviating the anguish they had suffered. Analogously, the Holy Prophet cursed people of Quraysh and supplicated to Allāh to inflict years of agony upon them and, as a result, the Lord responded; they became poor and suffered famine until they had to eat `Alhaz, a mixture of camel hair and blood. Nevertheless, they neither submitted to their Lord nor implored to Him. Al-Ḥākim, in *al-Mustadrak* 2/394, records the following:

Ibn `Abbās narrated that Abū-Sufyān came to the Holy Prophet and said, "O Muḥammad! I adjure you by the

¹ This is an indication to Bilqīs (Ethiopian: Makeda) the Queen of Sheba in Yemen.

Lord and the kinship. We have had to eat 'Alhaz.' Hence, Almighty Allāh revealed, 'And already We overtook them with chastisement but they were not submissive to the Lord, nor do they humble themselves. 23/76'

However, this narration has not appealed to the pro-Umayyad scholars who, consequently, did nothing to interpreting this Verse; rather, they have claimed the opposite—they claimed that people of Quraysh were actually submissive to their Lord as they humbled themselves to Him. Furthermore, they have claimed that the Holy Prophet blessed them. The following narration, recorded in ibn Kathīr's *al-Sirah* 6/101, can serve as an example:

When the Holy Prophet execrated people of Quraysh, they suffered such a harsh year that took everything from them. They had to have bones, dogs and 'Alhaz. Abū-Sufyān came to the Holy Prophet and pleased him to supplicate to Allāh to relieve their crisis. The Prophet did, and the crisis was relieved.

The problem is that Ibn Kathīr was fond of Abū-Sufyān's smell. As a historian, he did realize that Abū-Sufyān's attendance at the Holy Prophet occurred only after the Holy Prophet had felt pity for people of Quraysh and sent them food stuff and some money. He expected them to submit to the Lord and believe in Him and His Messenger; but they exploited that mercy and selected Abū-Sufyān as their representative to the Holy Prophet to offer a plan of reconciliation that was as same as the plans of reconciliation frequently suggested by the Israelis nowadays; however, their plan was rejected. As a second attempt, Abū-Sufyān sought Imām 'Alī and Fāṭimah al-Zahrā' to intercede for him; but they rejected, too; therefore, he suggested that a treaty of reconciliation would be recorded in the names of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn so that they would take pride in it among the Arabs. 'Alī and Fāṭimah also rejected and answered that they would never protect anyone against the Holy Prophet.

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CLANS OF QURAYSH

Quraysh was more than twenty clans, namely, sons of Hāshim ibn `Abd-Manāf, sons of Umayyah ibn `Abd-Shams, Banū-`Abd al-Dār ibn Quṣay, sons of Makhzūm ibn Yaqazhah ibn Murrah, sons of Zuhrah ibn Kalāb, sons of Asad ibn `Abd al-`Uzzā, sons of al-Ḥārith ibn Fihri ibn Mālik, sons of `Āmir ibn Lu`ay, sons of Sahn ibn `Amr, sons of Jamḥ ibn `Amr, sons of Anmār ibn Bughayḍ, sons of Taym ibn Murrah ibn Ka`b, sons of `Adī ibn Ka`b and others.

As a matter of fact, the management and leadership were in the hands of definite, yet a very few, clans while the rest were only followers. As he describes the meeting of Dār al-Nidwah (The House of Council), which was held for discussing the issue of the Holy Prophet, Ibn Hushām, in *al-Sirah* 2/331, records the following:

The meeting was attended by the celebrities of Quraysh. `Utbah ibn Rabī`ah, Shaybah ibn Rabī`ah and Abū-Sufyān ibn Ḥarb represented the sons of `Abd-Shams. Tuwaymah ibn `Adi, Jubayr ibn Mutim and al-Ḥārith ibn `Āmir ibn Nawfal represented the sons of Nawfal ibn `Abd-Manāf. Al-Naḍr ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Kildah represented the Banū-`Abd al-Dār ibn Quṣay. Abu'l-Bukhtari ibn Hushām, Zummah ibn al-Aswad ibn al-Muṭṭalib and Ḥakīm ibn Ḥuzām represented the sons of Asad ibn `Abd al-`Uzzā. Abū-Jahl ibn Hushām represented the sons of Makhzūm. Nabīh ibn al-Ḥajjāj and Munabbih his brother represented the sons of Sahn. Umayyah ibn Khalaf represented the sons of Jamḥ. Besides, many others were attendant. Some spoke, "You have clearly seen the acts of this man. I cannot guarantee that he will not lead his followers against us. You should decide something in this regard." As they consulted the matter, some suggested that they should detain him and wait... etc.

As he refers to those who readied to cover the expenses of the polytheists' army during the Battle of Badr, Ibn Hushām, in *al-Sirah* 2/488, records the following:

The Qurayshites who undertook the expenses of the polytheists' army were al-'Abbās ibn 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib ibn Hāshim from the Hāshimites and 'Utbah ibn Rabī'ah ibn 'Abd-Shams from the sons of 'Abd-Shams ibn 'Abd-Manāf and a-Ḥārith ibn 'Āmir ibn Nawfal and Tuwaymah ibn 'Adi ibn Nawfal from the sons of Nawfal ibn 'Abd-Manāf and Abu'l-Bukhtari ibn Hushām ibn Asad and Ḥakīm ibn Ḥuzām ibn Khuwaylid ibn Asad from the sons of Asad ibn 'Abd al-'Uzzā and al-Naḍr ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Kildah ibn 'Alqamah ibn 'Abd-Manāf from the sons of Abdul-Dar.

The following is the order of the Qurayshite clans depended by 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb in the records of his government during the distribution of the imports. Yet, it can help prove the fact that these clans' structure was intensely complicated and that the Hāshimites were always on the top.

We read the following in al-Bayhaqī's *al-Sunan* 6/364:

When he registered the records of his government, 'Umar decided to begin with the Hāshimites, "I saw the Holy Prophet precede them and sons of al-Muṭṭalib." Hence, their names were recorded in the top of the list and he gave them equally. As he noticed the lineage of sons of 'Abd-Shams and Nawfal, 'Umar added, "Sons of 'Abd-Shams are the Holy Prophet's full brothers while sons of Nawfal are half brothers. Hence, they should be preceded." Then, he looked upon sons of Abd al-'Uzzā and 'Abd al-Dār, "Sons of Asad ibn 'Abd al-'Uzzā are the Holy Prophet's maternal relatives. They were within the Muṭayyibīn." 'Umar thus preceded them to Banū-'Abd al-Dār. Sons of Zuhrah followed Banū-'Abd al-Dār, as 'Umar saw. Sons of Taym and Makhzūm came next, "Sons of Taym were a party in the treaty of Fuḍūl. Besides, they were within the Muṭayyibīn among whom was the Holy Prophet. Finally, they enjoyed favors." Accordingly, sons of Taym were preceded to sons of Makhzūm. Sons of Sahn, Jamḥ and 'Adi ibn Ka'b came therewith. Some suggested that he should begin with sons

of `Adī. "No, I should settle myself in its place. Sons of Sahn and we were of the same rank when Islām came forth. You should choose between sons of Jamḥ and Sahn in precedence," `Umar decided. Finally, sons of Jamḥ were preceded. Sons of Sahn and `Adī were recorded under the same name. When they were separated, `Umar shouted, "Allāh is the greatest! Praised be Allāh Who bestowed me my share from His Messenger." Then came sons of `Āmir ibn Lu`ay. Abū-`Ubaydah ibn `Abdullāh ibn al-Jarrāḥ al-Fihri objected and blamed `Umar for preceding all those to him. "Well, Abū-`Ubaydah," said `Umar, "you may either succumb, like what I had done, or you should discuss this matter with your people. I will accept their decision if they precede you to themselves. For me, I will precede you to sons of `Adī—my people."

In the reign of Mu`āwiyah, sons of al-Hārith ibn Fihri were preceded and located between sons of `Abd Manāf and Asad ibn `Abd al-`Uzzā. In the reign of a-Mahdī, the `Abbāsīd caliph, a quarrel occurred between sons of Sahn and `Adī. Therefore, they separated. For their standing, al-Mahdī preceded sons of `Adī.

It is generally admissible that the Hāshimites were distinctive among the other Qurayshite clans due to their unique mentality, behavior, activities and values. It is also evident that the other tribes respected them exclusively. This was the reason beyond the other Qurayshite clans' having envied them. Since the days of Hāshim and `Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the Hāshimites were antagonized. It was Hāshim who constituted the Summer journey to Syria, Palestine and Egypt for people of Quraysh. He toured in deserts and countries and negotiated the chiefs and kings of tribes and countries by which their caravans had to pass. He concluded treaties of nonaggression for conserving safety of people of Quraysh's caravans who expressed their delight for this achievement and took initiative in taking advantage of it. Nevertheless, they envied Hāshim and hoped had that been their own achievement so that they would have obtained that pride. Hāshim however was deceased in Ghaza under obscure circumstances. Yet, his house was not

extinguished. `Abd al-Muṭṭalib, his son, could be the master of his people continuing his father's achievements. He constituted the Winter journey to Yemen as well as many treaties of nonaggression with the chiefs and kings of tribes and countries by which people of Quraysh's caravans passed. Like his father, `Abd al-Muṭṭalib took pride in this act.

From the mental side, the clans of Quraysh noticed that the Hāshimites generally, and `Abd al-Muṭṭalib particularly, were used to taking pride in their being Ishmael's sons and followers of Abraham's creed, as if they were the only offspring of Ishmael and Abraham and, in more concentrating vision, as if they suspected the others' lineage. Abū-Ṭālib and the Holy Prophet applied this idea in the most tangible view. The chasm between the Hāshimites and the other Qurayshite clans increased largely when `Abd al-Muṭṭalib claimed receiving divine inspiration via the true coming dreams. Once, he informed his people that the Lord had ordered him to dig the well of Zamzam, which was derelict long time ago. When he dug, water sprang anew by the permission of Allāh the Exalted and he could find two golden statues on the form of gazelle there. `Abd al-Muṭṭalib adorned the gate of the Holy Ka`bah with these two golden statues adding a new feature to him who exclusively took the task of serving the pilgrims with food. He was named 'the waterer of the pilgrims and the Holy Precinct' due to the scarcity of water at that time.

When the Abyssinian army were on their way towards the Holy Ka`bah, `Abd al-Muṭṭalib told people that they would never touch it since Almighty Allāh would defeat them. This prophesy came true when Almighty Allāh rained the army of Abyssinia with tiny birds that cast them with backed stones; hence, He caused them to be like a ruined nest. As if he was a Prophet, or an introducer to a Prophet, `Abd al-Muṭṭalib legislated a number of laws and regulations. He issued that the ritual Circumambulation of the Ḥajj should be seven times. As some of the Arabs were used to going around the Holy Ka`bah naked, because they presumed the profanity of their clothes, `Abd al-Muṭṭalib prohibited this practice. He warned people

against burying the she-babies alive. He issued the obligation of fulfilling the vows and respecting the holy months. He prohibited wines and fornication and constituted a definite punishment for the perpetrators of such a sin. He banished the notorious prostitutes out of Makkah, prohibited the marriage of the blood relations, issued the punishment of cutting the larceners' hands and finally constituted unmerciful regulations against the murderers. He identified one hundred camels to be paid as the blood money of bloodshed. All the previous regulations and laws are legislated in Islām.

'Abd al-Muṭṭalib enjoyed the greatest honor among Quraysh as well as the other Arab tribes; he therefore was envied excessively by the Qurayshite chiefs who dragged him to be the other party in a contest for showing the most honorable by the governance of priests. As a new property, Almighty Allāh caused 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib to overcome twice increasing his standing and good reputation among people.

The matter that most aroused the Qurayshite chiefs against 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib was the accident of providing one of his sons as a sacrifice for the Lord of the Holy Ka'bah, just like Prophet Abraham (a.s)—his forefather. Hence, the Qurayshite chiefs could not enjoy a moment of relief.

As soon as 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib departed life, Abū-Ṭālib, the son, taking the place of his father and grandfather, became the chief of his people as well as the other Arab tribes. He preserved his father's maxims. During the reign of Abū-Ṭālib, the grandest dole on the Qurayshite chiefs took place; Muḥammad, Abū-Ṭālib's nephew, claimed prophethood and demanded with believing and complying with him. This dole for the Qurayshite chiefs expanded when a number of the Hāshimites and sons of al-Muṭṭalib believed in him and Abū-Ṭālib declared his responsibility of protecting him during the conveyance of his Lord's message. He also threatened people of Quraysh a sweeping war if they would touch a single hair of Muḥammad (a.s). Sparing no efforts in supporting his nephew, Abū-Ṭālib stood in the face of the cabals managed by the Qurayshite

chiefs. He also composed poems through which he divulged the ill intentions of the Qurayshite chiefs and suspected their belongingness to Prophet Ishmael. His poems of glorifying Muḥammad (a.s) and reproaching the Qurayshite chiefs were carried to the other Arab tribes. Abū-Ṭālib named Abu'l-Ḥakam, the chief of Banū-Makhzūm, as 'the tiny ignorant of Makhzūm,' while the Holy Prophet named him 'Abū-Jahl' -man of ignorance-.

In spite of their various attempts to incite and threaten Abū-Ṭālib and his nephew, people of Quraysh failed to achieve any progress in defeating that divine prophethood. They then decided to persecute any Muslim they would catch; therefore, most of Muslims fled to Abyssinia bringing a new disappointment for the Qurayshite chiefs.

Accompanied by sons of Kinānah, the Qurayshite chiefs decided to besiege the Hāshimītes. They arrested them in a col for three or four years. Yet, through a miracle, the Lord undid their blockade. When the Hāshimītes lost Abū-Ṭālib, people of Quraysh decided to assassinate Muḥammad (a.s) since he had lost the protector; but Almighty Allāh disappointed their consensus and ordered His Messenger to move to Yathrib—the city that most of its people embraced and admitted Islām.

Besides the Jews, the Qurayshite chiefs used all means to instigate or threat people of al-Madinah to give up the Holy Prophet; yet, they failed because that city, which was situated on the main way of their economic exchange with Syria and the neighboring territories, complied with the Holy Prophet from top to bottom.

In conclusion, they decided to declare war against that Hāshimite individual; they therefore fought against him in Badr, Uḥud and a-Khandaq; yet, they failed, as usual. They also failed when they used the Jews, the Romans and the Persians against him.

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Unexpectedly, Prophet Muḥammad (a.s) surprised them when he conquered their capital, Makkah, with great numbers of unbeatable soldiers in AH 8. So, people of Quraysh had to surrender and submit to him. They formed two lines to watch the parade of the Holy Prophet and his army. The standard of conquest was raised by `Abdullāh ibn Ruwāḥah, the young man from the Yemeni tribe of al-Khazraj. He was shouting with a poem:

O sons of atheists! Clear the way to him
Today, we will strike you for the revelation
So abruptly that your heads will be removed
And friends will be engaged against their revered
My Lord! I do believe in his mission.

Having felt jealous to hear that, `Umar shouted at the poet, "Son of Ruwāḥah! Is it before the Holy Prophet and in Allāh's Precinct you are poetizing?" But the Holy Prophet intruded, "Leave him alone, `Umar! These verses are more piercing than spearheads."¹

`Umar intended to relieve the Qurayshite chiefs' defeat and to avoid challenging them in their capital. It is worth mentioning that `Umar was the son of that worthless clan of `Adī and was brought up on respect for the Qurayshite chiefs. For the Holy Prophet, those despotic chiefs understood nothing other than the prose of swords and that `Abdullāh ibn Ruwāḥah's act had been quite correct and highly appreciated by Almighty Allāh since it was more piercing upon His foes than spearheads.

Conquest of Makkah Bewilders the Jurisprudents

The Holy Prophet had secured people of Quraysh before he gathered their chiefs in the Holy Mosque under the swords of

¹ Al-Bayhaqī: *al-Sunan* 10/228, al-Tirmidhī: *al-Sunan* 4/217 and al-Dhahbī: *Siyar A`lām al-Nubalā`* 1/235.

Allāh's soldiers. He reminded them of many things; their arrogance, tyranny, belying the miracles and portents of Allāh, dissenting Allāh and His Messenger and persecuting the Hāshimites and Muslims in addition to their conflicts and cabals against Islām and Muslims.

Read the following as quoted from al-Ṭabarī's *Tārīkh* 2/337:

It has been narrated on the authority of Qatādah al-Sadūsi that the Holy Prophet, during the conquest of Makkah, stood on the gate of the Holy Ka'bah and said, "There is no god but Allāh, alone with no associate. He fulfilled His promise, granted victory to His servant and, alone, defeated the parties (of the polytheists). Any claimed revenge or property must be under my feet except the custody of the House of Allāh and the watering of the pilgrims. O people of Quraysh! Allāh has saved you from the practices of Jāhiliyah and taking pride in the forefathers. All people belong to Adam and Adam was created from mud. 'O people! We have created you from male and female, and We have made you peoples and tribes so that you will associate each other. The most honorable of you to Allāh is being the most careful of his duty.' O people of Quraysh and people of Makkah! What do you expect me to do with you?" "Good! You are but a generous brother and the son of a generous brother," answered they. "Go free! You are released," responded the Holy Prophet.

After they had been within the spoils of war that the Holy Prophet had the right to possess, people of Quraysh were manumitted and released. Hence, they are called 'the released.'

This fact perplexed the pro-Qurayshite jurists. A release occurs only after capture and enslavement. This proposes that those people were manumitted by the Holy Prophet who had enslaved them. Accordingly, they should be the fellows and subjects of his family for good. Their being Muslims saved them from being sentenced to death penalty only. It did not cancel their being enslaved; yet, this ruling is dedicated to

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them. According to the rulings of jihād and Islāmic conquest, such rulings are inactive. The following is a sketch of the Holy Prophet's practices:

Ten thousand Muslims under the Holy Prophet's leadership surrounded Makkah. People of Quraysh were too frightened to counter that army. As an Islāmic rule, people of Makkah, if they were Jews or Christians, should choose one of three; become Muslims, fight against the Muslim army or defray the tribute (Jizyah) and keep their religion. As they were polytheists, they had only two choices; either to choose for Islām or to fight. They however chose for Islām under the menace of swords. They should have been treated as Muslims, but the Holy Prophet submitted them to the rulings of the prisoners of war and then released them. This sort of release is unfamiliar for Muslim jurists; a prisoner of war should be killed, released or compensated. The ruling of the release without manumission or compensation is dedicated to the people of Quraysh during the conquest of Makkah.

Another jurisprudential unsolved problem comes to the surface; the Holy Prophet's decision of excluding, from punishment, everyone who would stay home, throw his weapon or join Abū-Sufyān's house did not condition that such people should declare being Muslims.

The third question the rulings regarding the lands of Makkah about which there are many probabilities, such as that they are not possessed because they are within the holy House of Allāh, they were conquered and thus all Muslims have rights in them forever, They had been possessed by people of Quraysh since they choose for Islām but people purchased some from their owners later on. In my conception, the lands of Makkah should be out of possession because they are under the custody of the Holy Prophet and the Holy Imāms, while the Holy Prophet's decision of saving the souls of those previously mentioned people was mere salvation from killing. His amnesty to people of Quraysh means that they will be always his enslaved individuals who enjoy definite rulings according to the laws of

Islām. He released them in the same way as a master says to his slaves, 'Go and do whatever you like.' However, they, as well as their progeny, are still decided as slaves of that master and his heirs. In other words, he did not make them choose either Islām or fighting; yet, they were compelled to a definite choice and they thus were overcome and captured.

The Holy Prophet regarded them as Muslims when he ordered them to take part in the Battle of Ḥunayn and when he ordered their women to pay homage to him. On other occasions, they were regarded as polytheists when their sons and slaves who could find their way out to the Holy Prophet after the conquest of Makkah were not given back to them:

The following is recorded in *Nahj al-Balāghah* 3/30:

Imām `Alī answered Mu`āwiyah saying:

You think that so-and-so and so-and-so are the most distinguished persons in Islām. You have said such a thing which if it be true, you have nothing to do with it, but if it be not, then its defect will not affect you. And what are you to do with the question of who is better and who is worse, or who is the ruler and who is the ruled. What have the 'released' ones and their sons to do with distinguishing between the first Muhājirūn and determining their position or defining their ranks. What a pity! The sound of an arrow is being produced by what is not a real arrow, and he against whom the judgement is to be passed is sitting in judgement. O man, why do you not see your own lameness and remain within bounds? And why do not you realize the shortness of your measure and stay back where destiny has placed you? You have no concern with the defeat of the defeated or the victory of the victor.

Al-Kulaynī, in *al-Kāfi* 3/512, records the following:

The lands of those who chose for Islām willingly should be kept in their hands. Whatever is seized by force should belong to the Imām and then the decision is his. Thus did

the Holy Prophet do to the lands of Khaybar. When the people of al-Ṭā'if became Muslims, they were imposed to pay the tithe and its half. Makkah was conquered by the Holy Prophet; therefore, its people are his prisoners. He manumitted them and said, "Go free! You are released."

Sunni jurists have decided people of Quraysh as Muslims; therefore, they applied them to the rulings of Muslims, but when they are asked about the 'released' and whether they and their lands are applied to the rulings of war or not, they claim that such a right is given exclusively to the Holy Prophet!

Let us read the following as quoted from al-Shāfi'ī's *Kitāb al-Umm* 7/382:

Al-Awzā'ī says that the Holy Prophet conquered Makkah by force and permitted Muhājirūn to occupy their own houses and lands there; yet, he did not consider them as spoils.

Abū-Yūsuf says that the Holy Prophet pardoned people of Makkah when he declared that everyone who would keep himself in his house or join the Mosque or Abū-Sufyān's house would be safe. He asked his army not to kill anybody except certain names or in case of defense. He gathered them in the Mosque and said, "What do you expect me to do with you?" "Good. You are the generous brother and the son of that generous brother," replied they. "Go free! You are released," said the Holy Prophet. He thus did not regard any part of their possessions as spoils. I have already said that the Holy Prophet in this issue is not like others. His acts should be carefully understood because they have various meanings.

In other words, the Holy Prophet disregarded the rulings of Islām when he did not add the lands of Makkah with the spoils of war and did not enslave its people. He pardoned them and accepted their being Muslims. This ruling is however valid for the Holy Prophet, none else, and consequently, it is prohibited for any conqueror to imitate the Holy Prophet in this regard!

Thus, they claim that he respected people of Quraysh when he treated them individually.

Nevertheless, to adopt this opinion, Sunni jurisprudents have to move this obstacle, which is yet immovable! What about the name of 'released' that the Holy Prophet stamped on the necks of people of Quraysh and their partisans? Actually, it befits the slaves only.

Some Naṣībīs¹ have understood that the problem of Quraysh with the Ahl al-Bayt would enduringly remain unsettled as long as the name of 'released' is kept as a mark on their foreheads. This name means that they have become the slaves of the Holy Prophet and his household and progeny and that he had only released, not manumitted them from slavery. Even if they were manumitted, they must be always loyal to the Holy Prophet and his household. However, Sunni scholars have always attempted to erase the name of 'released' in order that they might release people of Quraysh from their slavery to the Holy Prophet and his household. Shaykh Nāṣir al-Dīn al-Albānī exposes his reluctant fanaticism to people of Quraysh when he regards the narration involved as doubtful!

In *Salsalat al-Aḥādīth al-Ḍaʿīfah* 3/307 al-Albānī lists the narration under number 1163 and comments:

This doubtful narration has been recorded in ibn Ishāq's *al-Sīrah* 4/31-2. Al-Ṭabarī, in *Tārikh* 3/120, has recorded it, too. As he has recorded it in *al-Bidāyah wa'l-Nihāyah* 4/300-1, Ibn Kathīr has not commented with anything. It is however doubtful and suspended since Ibn Ishāq has not named the man from whom he received it. In addition, the narrator is not one of the Ṣaḥābah; rather, he has received the report from the Ṣaḥābah's followers. Hence, the narration is incompletely transmitted or even unsound.

¹ Naṣībīs are those who openly declare the enmity to the Ahl al-Bayt and their adherents. Addressing to the Shī'ah, Imām al-Ṣādiq defines a Naṣībī as the one who shows enmity to the followers of the Holy Imāms.

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It seems that al-Albānī has not seen the other reference books of Ḥadīth in which this report has been recorded. Similarly, he could not perceive that scholars and jurists have dealt with this report as undeniable fact. We wonder if it was such an extreme historical blemish or fanaticism to people of Quraysh that made him attempt to deny this fact. It might be an attempt to save them from that everlasting name of their slavery to the Holy Prophet and his household.

The issue is however too certain and famous to all Muslim schools to be denied. The name 'released' is said exclusively to people of Quraysh and frequently used in the reference books of Ḥadīth. Moreover, it has had certain rulings discussed by master jurists.

The following is narrated by al-Bukhārī, in *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 5/105-6:

Ten thousand warriors in addition to the released were with the Holy Prophet during the battle of Ḥunayn; yet, they ran away... etc.

Muslim, in *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 3/106, has written down the following:

The released were with him; yet, they flew and he remained alone... etc.¹

If truth be told, the Hāshimites only stood firm and fought with the Holy Prophet in the Battle of Ḥunayn.

In *al-Musnad* 4/363 by Aḥmad, the following is recorded:

The Holy Prophet said: "Muhājirūn and Anṣār are the friends of each other. The Qurayshite released ones and the manumitted ones of Thaḳīf are the friends of each other until the Resurrection Day.

Al-Ḥākim, in *al-Mustadrak* 4/80 and al-Haythami, in *Majma' al-Zawā'id* 10/15 have decided the authenticity of the previous

¹ Also, Muslim: *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 5/196 and Aḥmad: *al-Musnad* 3/190 and 279.

report, which has been also authenticated by Ibn Qudāmah: *al-Mughnī* 7/321, al-Sarkhasī: *al-Mabṣūṭ* 10/39, Aḥmad: *al-Musnad* 3/279, al-Bayhaqī: *al-Sunan* 6/306, 8/266 and 9/118 and al-Muttaqī al-Hindī: *Kanz al-'Ummāl* 12/86 and 5/735 where he records the following:

'Umar stated, "This affair should never be held by the released and sons of the released. If you will not keep it, do not think that 'Abdullāh ibn Rabī'ah will be inattentive."

People of Quraysh After the Conquest of Makkah

The rest of the Qurayshite tyrants and the 'released' ones had to be Muslims. Nevertheless, the feelings of malice and arrogance were confined in the hiddens of most, if not all, of them. On the other side, they found a new exit! They claimed that the government of Muḥammad should be theirs since he was that generous man and the son of that generous man. Similarly, they adhered to the statements that Muḥammad's nobility and pride were theirs since he was the son of Quraysh. After all, the Holy Prophet pardoned them and permitted their chiefs to enter his state; therefore, it is illogical for them to fight or stand against or leave that government in the hands of the strangers—the people of the tribes of Aws and Khazraj. Likewise, the question of Muḥammad's succession can be discussed since it was an internal affair!

It is quite understandable that people of Quraysh directed their efforts towards the coming stage—after Muḥammad's departure. The most significant aim they had to treat was precluding him from nominating the Hāshimites for the next leadership. They expressed this trend in a few words; forbidding the Hāshimites from joining the leadership to the prophethood. They decided that the position of leadership should be the share of the Qurayshite clans other than the Hāshimites who had already enjoyed the position of prophethood restrictively. Furthermore, many texts and confessions lead to the fact that people of Quraysh exerted all efforts, on both the external and internal fronts, so as to

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implement this plan. Yet, most of them despaired of the Holy Prophet's granting them any amount in the leadership because he had been working practically for preparing his household for this position. On that account, they plotted for assassinating him. They went on that as soon as they had an opportunity. The Battle of Ḥunayn was the excellent opportunity! The Qurayshite tyrants have never believed in the Holy Prophet. After they had declared their being Muslims and volunteered to join the Holy Prophet in his war against the tribes of Hawāzin and Ghatafān in Ḥunayn, they flew at the initial throw of spears. They were two thousand warriors while the Holy Prophet's soldiers were ten thousand. The Qurayshite tyrants were the main reason beyond the defeat of Muslims during that battle. They urged the others to flee as exactly as what had happened during the Battle of Uḥud.

Predictably, the Hāshimites were the only warriors who stood fast with the Holy Prophet. They fought so courageously that they could face the attack. Only then, a few numbers of the fleeing Muslims returned to the battlefield and Allāh gave them victory.

At the same time as Muslims were fleeing, people of Quraysh plotted a number of processes aimed at assassinating the Holy Prophet, proving that they had already planned for many things with the enemies.

Ibn Kathīr who is affectionately fond of people of Quraysh and the Umayyads, has recorded, in *al-Sīrah* 3/691, the following saying of his dear, al-Nuḍayr ibn al-Ḥārith the chief of `Abd al-Dār.

...Al-Nuḍayr ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Kildah was a famous foe of the Holy Prophet. During the battle of Ḥunayn, he joined his people who were still keeping their beliefs. He spoke, "We intended to attack Muḥammad as soon as Hawāzin would beat him. But, we could not do it. When we resided in al-Jarrānah, the Prophet called at me while I was still keeping my beliefs, 'O al-Nuḍayr! May I guide you to a practice more beneficial for you than that you

had intended during the Battle of Ḥunayn, but the Lord stopped you?' I came to him so hurriedly. 'Now, it is the proper time to understand the infirmity of your previous intention,' said the Prophet. I confessed, 'Yes, indeed. I know that had there been a god other than Allāh, he would have influenced. I declare that there is no god but Allāh, alone without associate.' Then, the Prophet supplicated to Allāh saying, 'O Allāh, supply him with more steadfastness.'

Since that day, I feel my heart being as firm as a rock. The Prophet then said, "Praise be to Allāh Who guided him."

It is clearly noticeable that the previous words of this Qurayshite chief involve his declaration and claim of believing in Allāh the Exalted. A man's declaration is sufficient evidence. It is also noticeable that he declared the first creed of Islām only and neglected the other, which is the declaration of Muḥammad's divine prophethood. A claim is not provable unless others testify it.

This recognition proves that their pretense to be Muslims on the day of the conquest of Makkah had been false. Two thousand warriors were under the commandment of this chief during the Battle of Ḥunayn while he was planning for assassinating the Holy Prophet. This indicates that all the warriors were parties in that plot. In addition, these words reveal that they had actually implemented processes of assassinating the Holy Prophet but their activities were failed by the Lord and communicated to the Holy Prophet. Other narrations have attested that the Qurayshite chiefs, during the flight of Muslims in the Battle of Ḥunayn, could no longer keep the secret; therefore, they shouted of their rooted atheism and divulged their intentions. We read the following from Ibn Hushām's *al-Sīrah* 4/46:

... When Muslims fled, some people of Quraysh could no longer hide malice that disturbed their hearts. Abū-Sufyān

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ibn Ḥarb shouted, while pieces of pagans were kept in his bag, "Let them be thrown in the sea."

Jibillah ibn al-Ḥanbal and Ṣafwān ibn Umayyah, the polytheists, shouted, "Sorcery has certainly failed!"

Shaybah ibn `Uthmān ibn Abī-Ṭalḥah, whose brother was killed in the Battle of Uḥud, cried, "Today, I will retaliate upon Muḥammad. Today, I will kill Muḥammad." He, later on, narrated, "I searched for the Prophet as I intended to kill him. But something strange locked my heart; therefore, I realized that I would never have the ability to kill him."

Moreover, Shaybah, a Muslim leader and son of Quraysh (the striving faithful and Muslim tribe!), confessed that he went around the Prophet several time to kill him.

A deep look in the identities, ways of thinking and interests of the Qurayshite chiefs clearly exposes their hypocrisy and that they had decided to belie the portents and miracles introduced by Muḥammad (a.s) and gainsay all the humanitarian values and norms for which he called. They also decided not to join his religion in any case except when they would be threatened by swords or when his state would be in their hands.

No single means did they save when they fought the Holy Prophet. Regardless, they had to fail and, finally, were defeated. As a second stage, they continued plotting cabals and attempting to assassinate him, but they failed, too. Then, they came to him demanding with a position of leadership in his state, but they failed, as usual.

At length, they claimed that they had the right to be the rulers of his government since they were his people.

In point of fact, such sort of people who predominated on the Islāmic State and precluded the Ahl al-Bayt from the leadership requires a discerning study.

In *Manāqib Āli Abi-Ṭālib* 2/239, Ibn Shahrāshūb records:

In *Tanzīh al-Anbiyā`* 167, Sharīf Al-Murtaḍā comments:

As soon as the Holy Prophet nominated `Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib for the next leadership, a group of Qurayshite people came and said, "People have no long span in Islām. They will not accept to see your cousin `Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib be their leader while you were the Prophet. You may issue another decision." The Holy Prophet replied, "That was not my decision so that I may cancel. It is the Lord's decision. It is He Who ordered me to declare it." They then suggested, "Well then. You may add a man from Quraysh to him so that people will be satisfied and your affairs will be affirmative." Soon afterwards, Almighty Allāh revealed, "Surely, if you associate, your work would certainly come to naught and you would certainly be of the losers. 39/65"

It has been narrated on the authority of `Abd al-`Azīm al-Ḥasanī that Imām al-Ṣādiq said, "People of Quraysh were under the leadership of a man from the tribe of `Adī when they appeared before the Holy Prophet and said, "We have abandoned our paganism and followed you. Let us have a part in the leadership you have given to `Alī." Hence, Almighty Allāh revealed, "Surely, if you associate, your work would certainly come to naught and you would certainly be of the losers. 39/65"

People of Quraysh Gather Around Suhayl Ibn `Amr

Despite the unfaithful situations shown by people of Quraysh after the conquest of Makkah, the Holy Prophet put forth efforts for acquiring their loyalty by dignifying and welcoming them. He donated them the greatest shares of the spoils and promised to donate more in the future provided that they would show fidelity and good manners.

Not for their appreciation, the Lord advised His Messenger to use the illumination of tranquility and benevolence to face the intricacy and narrow-mindedness of those tyrant people for sake of the coming generations. Meanwhile, the chiefship of Abū-Sufyān retracted, and he could keep nothing other than his false

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fame of combating Muḥammad (a.s). Abū-Sufyān's chiefship was fit in wars and trade, not in situations of peace and political activities. After he had been defeated in the conquest of Makkah, Abū-Sufyān resided in al-Madinah and asked the Holy Prophet to appoint him as tax collector.

Suhayl ibn `Amr was selected as the very thinker and politician who might regain the 'glories' of Quraysh after the military downfall. Not too long, he became the only pivot around whom people of Quraysh rotated and the only heir of those chiefs whom were killed by Muḥammad and his Lord. Although he was one of the sons of `Āmir ibn Lu`ay who were a grade lower than sons of Ka`b ibn Lu`ay, as Ibn Hushām asserts in *al-Sīrah* 2/489, Suhayl ibn `Amr ibn `Abd-Shams ibn `Abd-Widd was a full-blooded Qurayshite. He had long stories with Muḥammad and one of the chiefs who negotiated Abū-Ṭālib in respect of Muḥammad's prophethood. He was also a member in al-Nidwah Conference when they decided to impose a comprehensive siege upon the Hāshimites. He was also a member of the plot of assassinating the Holy Prophet during his journey to al-Ṭā'if and he participated in the decision of banishing Muḥammad out of Makkah and killing him if he would return. Finally, he rejected to protect the Holy Prophet so that he would be in Makkah for conveying his Lord's messages.¹

Furthermore, Suhayl was one of the planners to kill Muḥammad (a.s) after Abū-Ṭālib's decease until his Lord saved him through the immigration to Yathrib and one of those who detained and tortured the earlier Muslims, including his son Abū-Jandal. He was also one of the commanders of the polytheists' army during the Battle of Badr and one of those who underwent the expenses of the army. He exerted all possible efforts in burning the Holy Prophet's heart through practicing misbehaviors; therefore, Almighty Allāh cursed him and ordered His Prophet to curse and mention him by name in disfavor during his prayers. In addition to the battles of Uḥud

¹ Al-Ṭabari: *Tārikh* 2/82.

and al-Khandaq, Suhayl spent his wealth on recruiting people against the Holy Prophet during wars.

Al-Dhahbī, in *Siyar A'lām al-Nubalā'* 1/194, records the following:

Suhayl ibn `Amr, nicknamed Abū-Yazīd, was the best speaker of Quraysh and one of their celebrities. He could escape when he was captured in the Battle of Badr. In Makkah, he spoke urging people on partaking in the wars against the Holy Prophet. He said, "O sons of Ghālib! Are you going to let Muḥammad and his traitorous followers seize your caravans? This wealth is for those who lack wealth and this power is for those who lack power." However, Suhayl was benevolent, generous and well-spoken. When the Prophet departed life, Suhayl addressed a speech similar to that of Abū-Bakr al-Ṣiddīq in al-Madinah. His words contributed in appeasing people and enhancing Islām.

People of Quraysh selected Suhayl ibn `Amr to represent them in the truce of Ḥudaybiyyah. He protested against writing down 'the Messenger of Allāh' as the Holy Prophet's signature. He signed on it on behalf of all Qurayshites. Finally, he was one of the leaders of polytheism about whom Almighty Allāh has said, 'Fight leaders of polytheism. 9/12' Thus, his false conversion to Islām should never change anything of the Holy Verses of Almighty Allāh.

Al-Ṣan`ānī, in *Tafsīr* 1/242, has recorded the following:

It has been narrated on the authority of Qatādah that the Holy Verse, 'Fight leaders of polytheism. 9/12' intended Abū-Sufyān ibn Ḥarb, Umayyah ibn Khalaf, `Utbah ibn Rabī`ah, Abū-Jahl and Suhayl ibn `Amr.

After the conquest of Makkah, Suhayl preferred to stay in Makkah and refused to move to al-Madīnah like most of the released ones. Due to his arrogance and long history of struggle against the Holy Prophet, he did not dare to ask for a position in the Holy Prophet's State. While he rejected the Holy

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Prophet's philanthropic present during the years of desiccation and starvation suffered by people of Quraysh by virtue of the Holy Prophet's cursing them, Suhayl accepted the one hundred camels presented to him as spoils of the Battle of Ḥunayn.

For the Qurayshite people and their adorers, this long history was as bright as daylight sun, but for Allāh and His Messenger, it was as black as gloomy night. The (Muslim) Qurayshites voted for Suhayl's leadership after the conquest of Makkah for the previous lineage, history and situations.

How miserable the historians are! And woe is the adorers of people of Quraysh in this regard!

Whereas the Holy Prophet nominated `Attāb ibn Usayd al-Umawī and a man from Anṣār as the rulers of Makkah, people of Quraysh preferred and complied with Suhayl. This fact is evidenced by the story that as soon as the Holy Prophet was deceased, people of Quraysh dissented and relinquished Islām. Although, he was a Qurayshite individual, `Attāb had to hide himself because he expected that he would be assassinated. A few days later, they received the tranquil news of the homage to Abū-Bakr, son of Taym. They calmed down because they realized that none of the Hāshimites would be the leader. This is why Suhayl repeated the same words of Abū-Bakr who intended to say that whoever worshipped Muḥammad must understand that Muḥammad has died. We, the other party, do not worship Muḥammad who was no more than a messenger who carried the message and passed away. Muḥammad was the son of Quraysh and his authority should be held by his people—people of Quraysh who selected a leader, namely, Abū-Bakr. You all should thus listen and obey.

As a consequence, Suhayl relieved people of Quraysh by carrying to them the news that the leadership would be at their hands away from the Hāshimites and Anṣār who worshipped Muḥammad! Thus, it would not be necessary for them to apostatize from Islām. Accordingly, people of Quraysh listened to him and that was the conclusion of the project of apostasy.

Moreover, Suhayl secured `Attāb and ordered him to rule Makkah in the name of the new Qurayshite, not Hāshimite, leader Abū-Bakr ibn Abī-Qaḥāfah the son of Taym ibn Murrah.¹

Suhayl Works for Independence

After the conquest of Makkah, people of Quraysh directed their activities towards the orderly political and secret action aimed at keeping the Ahl al-Bayt away from the leadership and dedicating it to the other Qurayshites. They understood that any open activities against the Holy Prophet would be unavailing. They had to face the problem of the Holy Prophet's progressive arrangements for bringing `Alī, followed by al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn, to power. Neither `Alī nor were any of the Hāshimites welcomed by the Qurayshite people. Thereupon, they, headed by Suhayl ibn `Amr, planned for practicing a number of bold procedures with the Holy Prophet. They therefore sent him various messages demanding with repatriating their sons and slaves who had left Makkah and joined him for learning their religion. In this regard, Suhayl said, "Today, we are your allies. We came to terms after we had been engaged in combats. I myself concluded a truce with you in Ḥudaybiyyah. Our sons and slaves fled their hometowns and work places to join you. They lied when they claimed that they aimed at learning their religion. Besides, we are responsible for teaching them their religion if they are honest. Accordingly, you should repatriate them."

The appeal of the new chief of Quraysh means that people of Quraysh, even if they had to give up arms and surrender under the shades of swords, did not recognize the ruler of Makkah assigned by the Holy Prophet; on the contrary, they wanted him to recognize them as an independent political entity opposing his state and religion.

Al-Tirmidhī, in *al-Sunan* 5/298, records the following:

¹ After recording this incident, Ibn Hushām, in *al-Sirah* 4/1079, adds, "Only then did people calm down and `Attāb Bin Usayd appeared."

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It has been narrated on the authority of Rab`ī ibn Ḥarrāsh that `Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib told us that after the conclusion of the truce of Ḥudaybiyyah, some polytheist chiefs and individuals, including Suhayl ibn `Amr, said, "O Allāh's Messenger! Some of our sons, brethren and slaves joined you. They had claimed falsely that they wanted to learn their religion. They only want to get rid of their jobs. Repatriate them and we will teach them their religion if they are honest." The Holy Prophet answered, "O people of Quraysh! If you keep up such demands, Almighty Allāh will send a man whose heart is filled up with faith to behead you with his sword for sake of this religion." They, as well as Abū-Bakr and `Umar, asked the Holy Prophet to identify that man. "He is that repairer of the sandal," the Holy Prophet referred to `Alī between whose hands was the sandal of the Holy Prophet.

Abū-Dāwūd, in *al-Sunan* 1/611, records the following:

It has been narrated on the authority of Rab`ī ibn Ḥarrāsh that `Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib said that, when some slaves joined the Holy Prophet before the conclusion of truce of Ḥudaybiyyah, their masters messaged the Holy Prophet demanding with repatriating them because their claims of learning the religion had been false; rather they escaped their slavery. A number of people around the Holy Prophet attested that demand and advised him to respond. He angrily said, "O people of Quraysh! I see that you will never give up such demands unless the Lord will send a man who will behead you." Hence, he rejected their demand and manumitted those slaves.

The reader must be aware that the reference to the truce of Ḥudaybiyyah in such reports was one of styles of distorting the facts usually followed by the pro-Qurayshite reporters. In fact, the incident befell after the conquest of Makkah. Had it occurred before that, Suhayl would have demanded the Holy Prophet with respecting the term of repatriating the individuals who would join him, which was agreed upon during the truce of Ḥudaybiyyah. Secondly, the Holy Prophet would not have

shown such an intense rage if this demand, which would have been so normal since it was specified as a term of the truce, had been provided before the conquest of Makkah. Only in situations of wrongdoing would the Holy Prophet be angry. Thirdly, the released Qurayshites would not have suggested to the Holy Prophet that they would teach those sons and slaves their religion if their demand had been issued before the conquest of Makkah and their conversion to Islām. The suggestion of teaching Islām cannot be said by other than Muslims or claimers of being Muslims. Finally, some narrations have confirmed that the incident occurred after the conquest of Makkah. Al-Hākim, in *al-Mustadrak* 2/138, records the following:

It has been narrated on the authority of Rab`i ibn Harrāsh that `Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib said that after the Holy Prophet had conquered Makkah, some Qurayshites said, "O Muḥammad! We are your allies and people. Our slaves joined you not for receiving knowledge of Islām, as they claim, but for giving up their duties and obligations. Repatriate them." Abū-Bakr and `Umar agreed to that demand when their advice was sought, but the Holy Prophet said, "O people of Quraysh! Allāh will send a man from among you; his heart will be filled up with faith; he will behead you for sake of the religion." As Abū-Bakr and `Umar expected themselves to be the intended, the Holy Prophet said, "No, you are not. He will be the repairer of the sandals in the mosque." The Prophet had already given his sandals to `Alī to repair.¹

Al-Hākim, in *al-Mustadrak* 4/298, has recorded a similar report and decided its authenticity:

After the conquest of Makkah, some people of Quraysh came to the Holy Prophet... He said, "O people of Quraysh! If you will not keep up your prayers and defray

¹ According to the criterion of Muslim, this report is authentic; yet neither he nor has al-Bukharī recorded it.

the zakāt, I will send a man who will behead you for sake of this religion. This man will be whether I or the repairer of the sandals." Meanwhile, 'Alī was repairing the Holy Prophet's sandals.¹

Many consequential points can be inferred from this incident:

First, people of Quraysh attended in al-Madīnah to see the Holy Prophet. They came to Muḥammad's capital and demanded with his recognition of their political independence. Such an awkward impudence occurred just after the conquest of Makkah when they were humiliated and had to accept Islām under the menace of swords after they had been released in addition to their shameful deeds in the battle of Ḥunayn. As al-Ḥākim and Abū-Dāwūd have authenticated the narration, people of Quraysh addressed to the Holy Prophet, 'O Muḥammad!' Al-Tirmidhī, however, has distorted it into 'O Allāh's messenger!' In Aḥmad's *al-Musnad* 3/82, we read the following:

It has been narrated on the authority of Abū-Sa'īd al-Khidrī... that the Holy Prophet's sandal was once cut; he therefore gave it to 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib to repair. We stood with the Holy Prophet who then spoke, "One of you will fight for sake of the interpretation of the Qur'ān in the same way as I have fought for its revelation." Each one, including Abū-Bakr and 'Umar, expected himself to be the one intended. "No," asserted the Holy Prophet, "He will be the repairer of the sandal." We thus hurried to 'Alī carrying this good tidings. As if he had already known it, 'Alī paid no attention.

In *Majma' al-Zawā'id* 9/133, the author has decided the authenticity and truthfulness of the report and its narrators.

The narration maintains that the incident occurred in al-Madīnah.

¹ Also, *Kanz al-'Ummāl* 13/174.

Second, people of Quraysh understood that the conquest of Makkah and their acceptance of Islām as a religion had not been considered as submission to the Holy Prophet and the Islāmic State; rather it was a form of alliance with him against the tribes that were not included to his State yet. The Romans and the Persian were the main foes of the Holy Prophet's State and people of Quraysh as well. Furthermore, they felt that they had practically joined that alliance when they fought in the Holy Prophet's line against his foes during the Battle of Hunayn. On that account, it is now his turn to recognize their independent entity. They began with demanding him to repatriate their sons and slaves.

Third, except the Hāshimites, people of Quraysh who had immigrated with the Holy Prophet agreed to that demand. For instance, Abū-Bakr ibn Qahāfah and `Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb supported it completely. Yet, narrations have varied in exposing the scope of Abū-Bakr and `Umar's supporting the Qurayshite demand; some narrations, such as al-Hākim's authentic previous one, explain that Abū-Bakr answered, 'They have said the truth, Allāh's messenger! Repatriate them,' and `Umar repeated the same thing. Other narrations, such as that recorded in al-Tirmidhī's *al-Sunan* and al-Hākim's *al-Mustadrak* 3/122 and *Majma` al-Zawā'id* 9/134 and 5/186, have not referred to Abū-Bakr and `Umar's confirmation of the Qurayshite demand; yet they have mentioned their expectation to be the party whom will be selected by the Lord and His Messenger for disciplining people of Quraysh. Smartly, the word 'men' was substituted for the names of Abū-Bakr and `Umar. Such narrations are recorded in al-Hākim's *Al-Mustadrak* 2/125 and 10/473.

Mentioning the two men was totally eradicated in some narrations such as that recorded in Abū-Dāwūd's *al-Sunan* and the various narrations in 11/613.

Fourth, a question should be put forth here: What was the relationship between Suhayl ibn `Amr and the two men Abū-Bakr and `Umar, and why did they confirm the Qurayshite demand? Another question should also be put forth: why did the

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Holy Prophet seek the advice of Abū-Bakr and `Umar after he had understood the actual intent of people of Quraysh? He therefore became angry rejecting their demand and threatening another war and forewarning its imminent falling.

In any case, according to narrations, the chiefship of Quraysh was represented by those four men of the incident—the Holy Prophet, Suhayl ibn `Amr al-`Āmirī the polytheists' chief, Abū-Bakr and `Umar the sons of the worthless clans of Quraysh. From the above, we understand that there was a sort of relationship and earlier arrangement between the delegation of Quraysh and the two men. Some narrations have divulged more things—Suhayl and his delegation resided at `Umar's house when they were in al-Madīnah, and Abū-Bakr accompanied them to the Holy Prophet as an intercessor.

Fifth, four elements can be assumed from the Holy Prophet's reaction in the incident involved:

1. Although narrations have not referred to further details about the incident, the first element that can be concluded is the Holy Prophet's anger owing to the awkward impudence of the Qurayshite delegation as well as the way of their thinking.

2. The Holy Prophet despaired of people of Quraysh's modifying their courses of tyranny and spreading on the instructions of Islām. He perceived that the sword would be the only device that may cause them to adhere to the right. A number of narrations, such as those recorded in al-Ḥākim's *al-Mustadrak* 2/125, Abū-Dāwūd's *al-Sunan* 1/611, al-Bayhaqī's *al-Sunan* 9/229 and *Kanz al-'Ummāl* 10/473, have referred evidently to this point. (The Holy Prophet said, "O people of Quraysh! I see you will never cease unless the Lord will send a man who will behead you for the sake of Islām.") This statement confirms that people of Quraysh will never submit to Islām except by force.

3. The Holy Prophet named `Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib (a.s) in threatening people of Quraysh. They scared this man to death

since they suffered the harshest days of their lifetime on his hands. He, alone, was the killer of half of the polytheist heroes while the other Muslims, in groups, killed the second half or even less! The Holy Prophet mentioned `Alī indirectly when he referred to the man whom would be sent for beheading people of Quraysh for sake of the religion. Once, as recorded in *Majma` al-Zawā`id* 9/133, he expressed, "A man belongs to me or I..." When Abū-Bakr and `Umar asked him to name that man, the Holy Prophet said, "It is I or the repairer of the sandal."¹

This saying was aimed at obstructing the Qurayshite uneven hopes since they would understand that this question might occur as early as possible. Moreover, they should anticipate a command of invading Makkah and terminating the tyrants there.

The Holy Prophet proposes to evince `Alī's standing; he wanted to make people of Quraysh know that the man would be one of the Hāshimites whom they still envied and detested. Had the Holy Prophet foretold that `Alī would fight people of Quraysh for sake of the interpretation of the Holy Qur`ān twenty-five years later, they would have been sure that they would have a twenty year period to carry out their plans. In *Majma` al-Zawā`id* 9/134, an authenticated narration declares that since the Holy Prophet's reign, `Alī (a.s) had been threatening people of Quraysh and everybody who would think of apostasy. He swore that he would fight them to the last moments. The Holy Prophet was the director of this threat, which was aimed at precluding people of Quraysh from practicing any process of dissenting Islām:

It has been narrated on the authority of Ibn `Abbās that during the Holy Prophet's lifetime, `Alī (a.s) was used to saying, "Allāh the Powerful and Glorified says, 'Muḥammad is no more than an apostle; the apostles have already passed away before him; if then he dies or is killed, will you turn back upon your heels?' Nay, by

¹ Al-Muttaqī al-Hindī: *Kanz al-`Ummāl* 7/326.

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Allāh! We will never turn back upon our heels after we have been guided by Allāh the Exalted. By Allāh I swear, if Muḥammad will die or be killed, I will definitely fight for the same sake that he has been fighting for until the last of my life. Nay, by Allāh! It is I who is his brother, successor, cousin and heir. Who then is more meritorious than I am?"

Following the previous narration, the same compiler writes down another narration in which he exposes that immediately after the conquest of Makkah, the Holy Prophet menaced people of Quraysh with `Alī (a.s):

It has been narrated on the authority of `Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Awf that immediately after the conquest of Makkah, the Holy Prophet went towards al-Ṭā`if... and said, "O people! I will be your leader. I urge you to be benevolent with my household. You will meet me on the Divine Pool. By the Prevailing of my soul I utter this oath; if you do not perform prayers and defray the zakāt, I will send upon you a man who belongs to me. He will behead your warriors and capture your sons." People thought that Abū-Bakr or `Umar had been the intended; the Holy Prophet took `Alī from the hand and said, "He will be this man."

This threat proves evidently the actual intentions of those fresh Muslims.

4. The Holy Prophet has decided those who provided that claim as atheists. The Holy Prophet's sayings, "I see you will not stop, O people of Quraysh..." and the threat with a man who will behead them for sake of the religion and his anger—all these are evidences on those people's atheism. In the first saying, the Holy Prophet meant that they would not stop their atheism and antagonism against the Lord and His Messenger. In the latter, his words meant that they would never follow the religion and that they would not cease their activities against Islām unless they would be treated by swords.

In case these 'released' were Muslims whose properties must be respected, it should be illegal for the Holy Prophet to violate such properties. He (a.s) used to say, "It is illicit for anyone to have from others' properties unless their satisfaction is obtained. Your properties and souls are as holy as... etc."

Jurisprudents have confusedly tried to solve this problem; they said that it is exclusively given to the Holy Prophet. Yet, this is incorrect because it is illogical.

Consequence of the Incident

Apparently, the incident hindered the Qurayshite people's attempts to harvest the Holy Prophet's recognition of their political independence in a form of alliance or autonomy in the Islāmic State. A view at the history written with the pens of the pro-Qurayshite authors will conclude that people of Quraysh, soon after the incident, repented and accepted Islām so piously and gave alms and manumitted their slaves and undertook on the ritual Ḥajj and fasted and offered the prayers... etc. In contrast, the Holy Prophet said, "I see you will never stop, O people of Quraysh!" From the nature of the Qurayshite people in general and their chiefs in specific, it is understood that they must have kept up their activities on all possible fronts and could conclude many results. They understood that the Holy Prophet had still been attentive of their movements and that it had been a great mistake to think of a political independence in his State. Thirdly, they recognized that Muḥammad—the leading Hāshimite knight—had been unmatched, especially when he was supported by his cousin—the killer of the Arabs—and people of Aws and Khazraj who dared, for the first time in their lives, to fight people of Quraysh and kill a number of their heroes.

The issue of political independence was retracted when a substitute came forth; people of Quraysh were confident that Muḥammad's State covered the territories and Muslims were preparing themselves to fight the Romans and the Persians. Muḥammad had promised his followers that they would defeat

these two great powers and Muslims looked forward to achieving so. On that account, any demand of autonomy would be meaningless. Hence, it is necessary to move to a new general situation through industrious political activities and processes of systematic violence. By such activities could the Quraysh people only seize Muḥammad's State. Muḥammad; at any rate, is the son of Quraysh and his people are thus more meritorious than others in receiving his heritage. Neither Anṣār the Yemenis nor can any other tribe protest. Supposing that will be achieved, there will come one problem that requires treatment in any price—the Hāshimites whom are called 'the progeny' or 'the near of kin,' and about whom frequent Qur'ānic texts have been revealed and many Ḥadīths have been said. Muḥammad has endowed them exclusively the fifth of the public treasury.

Indeed, that was the conclusion attained by people of Quraysh whom were released from killing and slavery at the hands of the Holy Prophet. That was their reward for him during his lifetime. All such evil plots were practiced with the aid of some of the Ṣaḥābah.

'Umar Attests the Terqiversation of the Qurayshites

we read the following narration in al-Ṭabarī's *Tārīkh* 3/426:

It has been narrated on the authority of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī that 'Umar once was informed that the Qurayshite chiefs had complained about his decision of detaining them in al-Madīnah unless a permission would be obtained yet for a limited period. He ascended the minbar and said, "I describe Islām as a camel. In its emergence, Islām was the like of a one year old camel. It became two year old, four year old, six year old and, in the final, it became senile. Nothing but decrease comes after senility. Islām is going towards senility. People of Quraysh are aiming at having Allāh's wealth entirely for themselves. This will never occur as long as son of al-Khaṭṭāb is alive. I will keep

standing on the entrance of the city for intercepting people of Quraysh from falling in the fire.”¹

This situation includes a number of points:

1. These have been the words of a Qurayshite chief whose tribal loyalty, for him, was beyond any dispute; he carried the pennon of Quraysh and called for their succeeding the Holy Prophet in the face of Anṣār and the Hāshimites. He also spared no efforts in stripping the leadership from the Ahl al-Bayt and Anṣār. He then served the Qurayshite chiefs with that pure leadership and they named him ‘the Core of Quraysh.’

2. These words provide a testimony averring that the Qurayshite Muhājirūn were so deviate that they should be detained in al-Madīnah in order not to mislead Muslims. Having assumed the actuality of the Qurayshite Muhājirūn, it became more evident to understand the hiddens of the Qurayshite ‘released’ people whom should never cease their trickeries against Islām unless ‘Ali’s sword would play on their heads, as the Holy Prophet predicted.

3. These words comprise a picture of ‘Umar’s imagination about the short period of Islām and its imminent termination. ‘Umar likened Islām to any political circle that passed on the Arab Peninsula and other territories and would be vanquished soon. Through various texts, ‘Umar believed that Islām would not last for more ages and believed that other nations would soon invade Muslim territories, especially Makkah whose people would desert it and cause it to be ruined. Ka‘b al-Aḥbār might have been the source of such false prophecies.

¹ Al-Muttaqī al-Hindī: *Kanz al-‘Ummāl* 13/75 and Ibn Shabbah: *Tārīkh al-Madīnah* 2/779 and 2/401.



مرکز تحقیقات کامپیوتر علوم اسلامی

THE VERSE OF `IṢMAH

The Order of the Verse

In the Name of Allih, the Beneficent, the Merciful

And the Jews say: The hand of Allāh is tied up! Their hands will be shackled and they will be cursed for what they say. Nay, both His hands are spread out, He expends as He pleases; and what has been revealed to you from your Lord will certainly make many of them increase in inordinacy and unbelief; and We have put enmity and hatred among them until the day of resurrection; whenever they kindle a fire for war Allāh puts it out, and they strive to make mischief in the land, and Allāh does not love the mischief makers.

And if the followers of the Book believed and guarded against evil, We would certainly have covered their evil deeds and We would certainly have made them enter gardens of bliss.

And if they had kept up the Torah and the Bible and that which was revealed to them from their Lord, they would certainly have eaten from above them and from beneath their feet; there is a party of them keeping to the moderate course, and as for most of them, evil is that which they do.

O Apostle! Deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord; and if you do it not, then you have not delivered His message, and Allāh will protect you from the people; surely Allih will not guide the unbelieving people.

Say: O followers of the Book! You follow no good until you keep up the Torah and the Bible and that which is revealed to you from your Lord; and surely that which has been revealed to you from your Lord will make many of them increase in inordinacy and unbelief; grieve not therefore for the unbelieving people.

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Surely those who believe and those who are Jews and the Sabians and the Christians whoever believes in Allāh and the last day and does good- they will have no fear not will they grieve. Certainly We made a covenant with the children of Israel and We sent to them apostles; whenever there came to them an apostle with what that their souls did not desire, some of them did they call liars and some they slew.

The Place of the Verse

If we accept that the Qur`ānic order supports the exegesis of a Verse, two matters should be taken in consideration: *First*, the Verse lies in Sūrah of al-Mā'idah—the seal of the revealed Sūrahs and, *second*, the Verse comes among others respecting the manners of the Jews and Christians. Correspondingly, it carries the following meaning to the Holy Prophet: Convey, and fear not the Jews or the Christians. We will protect you against them. They will be too short to injure you.

Neither Sunnis nor do the Shī'ah admit such interpretation. The Verse thus adds nothing new about the Jews and Christians since the danger caused by them had been removed before the revelation of the Verse. From this cause, it is important to understand whether the place of the Verse has been as original as it was revealed or one of the Ṣaḥābah intruded to put it in this very position. We, the Shī'ah, deny clearly any supposition claiming any form of distortion in the Holy Qur`ān. Yet, reports have asserted that some of the Ṣaḥābah had pursued personal inferences in choosing the places of some Verses. Accordingly, the place of the Verse had been subjectively, if not unintentionally, chosen.

SUNNI SCHOLARS' OPINIONS

The following six opinions are the most common among the various theses related to the Verse and assumed by Sunni exegetes. Yet, a seventh Sunni opinion accords the Shī'ah's interpretation.

First Opinion

The Verse was revealed in the preliminary stage of the Holy Prophet's Divine Mission. When the Lord ordered him to convey the message, he hesitated; he abstained or showed drawback. Hence, the Lord loomed and relieved. Only then, the Holy Prophet conveyed.

This proposes that the Verse was revealed twenty-three years before the revelation of Sūrah of al-Mā'idah.

As if he deterred it, al-Shāfi'ī (*Kitāb al-Umm* 4/168) uses 'it is said' before the reference to this opinion:

...It is said that when Archangel Gabriel first conveyed to the Holy Prophet the mission of promulgating for the new religion, he hesitated and feared that people would belie him. Hence, Almighty Allāh revealed, 'O Apostle! Deliver what has been revealed...'

Although many objections are aroused against this claim, we may content with the following; it is contrary to the order of the Verse. It is also inadmissible to accept such an accusation of abstinence or hesitation in carrying the Lord's Messages so as to avoid accusation of lying or injury or killing. Qur'ānic texts have attested that the Holy Prophet exerted all possible efforts for conveying his Lord's mission.

Al-Shāfi'ī's Indirect Reports

In al-Suyūṭī's *al-Durr al-Manthūr* 2/298, we read the following:

It has been narrated on the authority of Abu'l-Shaykh on the authority of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī that the Holy Prophet said: I felt annoyed when my Lord ordered me to convey His Message, because I knew that people would belie me,

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but He threatened if I decline, He would subdue. That is His saying: O Apostle! Deliver... etc.”¹

It has been also narrated on the authority of Ibn Jarīr that Ibn Jurayj said that the Holy Prophet feared people of Quraysh until the revelation of the Verse, ‘O Apostle... and Allāh will protect you from the people.’ Only then, he was relieved. He said frequently, “Let them disappoint.”

It has been also narrated on the authority of ‘Abd ibn Humayd, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn Abī-Ḥātam and Abu’l-Shaykh on the authority of Mujāhid that when Almighty Allāh revealed, ‘...Deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord...,’ the Holy Prophet said, ‘O my Lord! I am alone. How should I behave when people unite against me?’ Then, Almighty Allāh revealed, ‘And if you do it not, then you have not delivered His message.’²

In al-Nisāpūrī: *al-Wasīf* 2/208, we read the following:

It has been narrated on the authority of al-Anbārī that during his dwelling in Makkah, the Holy Prophet used to declare only a part of the Qur’ānic texts revealed to him because he anticipated that the polytheists would injure his companions and him...

The previous reports lack documentation. They are no more than sayings of al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī, Mujāhid and their likes. Next, we will prove that al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī aimed at achieving something private through publicizing such wording and that he cited his saying from the Holy Prophet’s sermon of Ghadīr but he was too coward to report the truth.

Indirect Reports Turn into Reliable Opinions

Exegetes have realized that the Verse was revealed in the Holy Prophet’s last days and realized that the attribution of an

¹ Al-Wāḥidī: *Asbāb al-Nuzūl* 1/438.

² Al-Wāḥidī: *Asbāb al-Nuzūl* 1/139 and al-Ṭabarī: *Tafsīr* 6/198.

incident that took place on the first days of his mission to the exegesis of the Verse was no more than words of false scholars of the Umayyad reign or reports of doubtful documentation. Notwithstanding, they flagrantly took the Verse twenty-three years back. It is quite odd to see considerate names, such as al-Zamakhsharī and al-Fakhr al-Rāzī, be among such exegetes. This is because they attempted to take the Verse away from the Ghadīr declaration of loyalty. In truth, they have had to choose either connecting the incident to the Verse or adopting the false reports about the cancellation of the guarding of the Holy Prophet. This fable is however exposed by the sequence of the historical events as well as the text of the Verse. We read the following in al-Zamakhsharī's *al-Kashshāf* 1/659:

The meaning of Allāh's saying, 'And Allāh will protect you from the people,' is that the Lord provides a promise of protecting the Holy Prophet... against being killed only! It has been narrated that the Holy Prophet said, 'I became disturbed when Almighty Allāh ordered me to convey His message to people. He then threatened a punishment if I would abstain and guaranteed to protect me. Only then, I regained vigor.'

Al-Rāzī, in *Tafsīr* 6:12/48-50, records the following:

It has been narrated on the authority of al-Ḥasan that the Holy Prophet said, "I became disturbed when my Lord ordered me to convey His message to people since I realized that people, including the Jews and Christians, would belie me and that people of Quraysh would threaten me. When Almighty Allāh revealed, 'O Apostle! Deliver... etc.,' all my apprehensions were removed.

Regarding Allāh's saying, 'And Allāh will protect you from the people,' one may ask how it is possible to regard this statement while the Holy Prophet's face was scratched during the Battle of Uḥud. There are two answers for this question: First, the Verse stands for the

¹ Al-Nisāpūrī: *al-Wasīṭ* 2/208.

protection against killing. Second, the Verse was revealed after the Battle of Uḥud.

Al-Rāzī was not honest in recording al-Ḥasan's words. He added the statement, 'including the Jews and Christians' to the narration because he intended to take the Qurayshite people away from the Verse and dedicate it to the Jews and Christians. Yet, we should not blame him for his love for Quraysh generally and his grandfather Abū-Bakr ibn Abī-Qaḥāfah in particular. We only demand with objective honesty. No single indication to the Jews or Christians has been shown in the reference books that comprised al-Ḥasan's previous narration. Excelling at al-Rāzī and the others, Ibn Kathir records the following in *al-Bidāyah wa'l-Nihāyah* 3/53:

It has been narrated in Ibn Abī-Ḥātam's book of *Tafsīr* on the authority of his father on the authority of al-Ḥasan ibn 'Īsā ibn Maysarah al-Ḥārithī on the authority of 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abd al-Quddūs on the authority of al-A'mash on the authority of al-Minhāl ibn 'Amr on the authority of 'Abdullāh ibn al-Ḥārith that 'Alī said, "When Almighty Allāh revealed, 'And warn your nearest relations,' the Holy Prophet asked me to cook a leg of a ewe with some food and a bowl of milk and then invite Banū-Hāshim. I did and they were about forty men... The Prophet then said, 'Which one of you will settle my debts and he will be my successor among my people?' As he anticipated financial loss, al-'Abbās, like the others, kept silent. I had to keep silent as I revered al-'Abbās's having been older than I was. In the second time, I spoke after I had seen al-'Abbās kept silent again. I said, 'I will be it, Allāh's Messenger!' The Prophet said, 'Yes, it is you... etc.'

By saying, 'which one of you will settle my debts and he will be my successor among my people?' the Holy Prophet wanted one of them to settle his debts after his death because he anticipated that he would be killed as soon as he would convey the Lord's message to the Arab polytheists. Therefore, he aimed at nominating his successor who would guard his family after his decease.

Anyhow, Almighty Allāh secured His Messenger when He revealed, 'O Apostle! Deliver... etc.'¹

Ibn Kathīr has slipped very much and served his fanaticism extremely; he cut off the text regarding Allāh's saying, 'And warn your nearest relations,' and erased the Holy Prophet's having carried out Almighty Allāh's commandment of nominating a successor. Instead, he distorted the narration saying that the Holy Prophet asked the Hāshimites for a successor to be the guardian of his family and settle his debts after he had anticipated that he would be killed by people of Quraysh. Hence, 'Alī (a.s) volunteered. But when the Verse was revealed, such a succession became invalid. Thus, Ibn Kathīr, purposefully, disregards the fact that the Holy Prophet was ordered to invite his near relatives exclusively to the religion. Neither people of Quraysh nor were the others included in this invitation. Thereupon, his anticipation of being killed or injured is mere fabrication. Furthermore, as much as I could conceive, no one supports Ibn Kathīr in establishing a relationship between the Verse of 'Iṣmah and the Verse of warning the near relatives. Besides, he does not refer to the sources from which he adopted that opinion.

As a matter of fact, for Ibn Kathīr, nothing is more important that misrepresenting and fading the Holy Prophet's words at his near relatives as well as nominating 'Alī as his brother, vicegerent and successor. Meanwhile, he spares no efforts in taking the Verse of 'Iṣmah away from Sūrah of al-Mā'idah and the Day of Ghadir. The following is the Holy Prophet's words, which were cut off by Ibn Kathīr, as quoted from al-Aminī's *al-Ghadir* 1/207:

In order to discriminate the accurate from the deviation, we hereinafter quote al-Ṭabarī's words as recorded in his *Tārīkh* 1/207:

¹ A similar narration is recorded in *al-Sīrah* 1/460.

(The Holy Prophet said) “I have brought forth the good of this world as well as the Hereafter. The Exalted Lord has ordered me to invite you all to this matter. Which one of you will support me and will be my brother, heir and successor?” (‘Alī went on narrating) I was the youngest among the attendants who utterly refused. I spoke, “I will be that one, Allāh’s messenger! I will be your supporter in this matter.” The Holy Prophet took me from the neck and declared, “This is my brother, heir and successor. Listen and comply with him.” The attendants went out laughing and addressing to my father, “Well, he has ordered you to listen to and comply with your son!”

(Al-Aminī: *al-Ghadīr* 2/279) Deciding it as authentic, Abū-Jaʿfar al-Iskāfī of Baghdad, a Muʿtazilite theologian, (died in AH 240) has recorded the same narration in *Naqd al-ʿUthmāniyyah*. It has been also recorded in the following reference books of Ḥadīth: Burhān al-Dīn: *Anbāʾ Nujabāʾ al-Abnāʾ* 46-8, Ibn al-Athīr: *al-Kāmil* 2/24, Abuʾl-Fidāʾ: *Imād al-Dīn al-Dimashqī: Tārīkh* 1/116, Shihāb al-Dīn al-Khafājī: *Sharḥ al-Shifā* 3/37. Cutting off the last statement of the narration, he records, ‘In al-Bayhaqī: *Dalāʾil al-Nubuwwah* as well as many other books, this narration is authentically documented, ‘Alāʾ al-Dīn al-Baghdādī al-Khāzin: *Tafsīr* 390, Al-Suyūṭī: *Jāmiʾ al-Jawāmiʾ* 6/392 as quoted from al-Ṭabarī and 6/397 as quoted for the six most notable Ḥadīthists—ibn Ishāq, ibn Jarīr, ibn Abī-Ḥātam, ibn Mardawayh, Abū-Naʿī and al-Bayhaqī and Ibn Abiʾl-Ḥadīd: *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah* 3/254.

The compiler of *al-Ghadīr* then criticizes those who misrepresented the narration seeking the Qurayshites’ favor. Al-Ṭabarī, for instance, intends to make the Holy Prophet’s words about Imām ‘Alī obscure; he records, “The Prophet then said: This is my brother... and so on.” Ibn Kathīr, in *al-Bidāyah waʾl-Nihāyah* 3/40 and *Tafsīr* 3/351, follows al-Ṭabarī.

Second Opinion

A second Sunni opinion indicates that the Verse was revealed some time before the immigration to al-Madīnah. Since then, the Holy Prophet dispensed with the guard of Abū-Ṭālib or al-`Abbās.

In Sunni reference books of Ḥadīth, this opinion is commonly accepted; yet, it is of two sorts of narrations. The earlier shows, whether openly or suggestively, the time and place of the revelation of the Verse, which was Makkah, while the latter relates it to the Holy Prophet's canceling the guard, without referring directly to the watch practiced by Abū-Ṭālib or al-`Abbās. Regardless, we ought to opt for the earlier since its origin is al-Tirmidhī's reporting from `Ā`ishah. Like many others, al-Tirmidhī perceived that `Ā`ishah had meant Makkah. As a model of the first sort of narration, let us quote the following from al-Suyūṭī's *al-Durr al-Manthūr* 2/298-9:

It has been narrated on the authority of Ibn `Abbās that the Holy Prophet answered those who asked him about the most intense Verse that was ever revealed to him, and he answered, "During the Ḥajj season, I was in Minā when Archangel Gabriel revealed to me Allāh's saying, 'O Apostle! Deliver... etc.' I stood at al-`Aqabah and shouted, 'O people! Whoever supports me in conveying my Lord's message will be granted Paradise. O people! If you declare that there is no god but Allāh and I be His messenger, you will be saved and granted Paradise.' All people, including women and children, then began to throw me with dust and stones and spew in my face shouting, 'You are liar and apostate.' In these moments, an inspiration came forth before me and said, 'It is now the proper time for you, if you are the Lord's messenger, to curse your people in the same way as Prophet Noah cursed his people.' Instead, I said, 'O Allāh! Guide my people for they do not know, and support me by making them respond to Your obedience.' Then, al-`Abbās, my uncle, came and saved me from them."

Al-A`mash commented that the descendants of al-`Abbās used to take pride in that situation.

It has been also narrated on the authority of Ibn Mardawayh on the authority of Jābir ibn `Abdullāh that Abū-Ṭālib used to appoint a guard for accompanying the Holy Prophet whenever he would go out; but when Almighty Allāh revealed, 'And Allāh will protect you from the people,' the Holy Prophet said to his uncle, 'Allāh has protected me. I do not need a guard.'

It has been narrated by al-Ṭabarānī, Abu'l-Shaykh, Abū-Na`īm, in *al-Dalā'il*, Ibn Mardawayh and Ibn `Asākir on the authority of Ibn `Abbās that the Holy Prophet was guarded; Abū-Ṭālib used to send men from the Hāshimites for guarding him. He then said to his uncle, 'I do no longer need those whom you are sending for guarding me.'¹

In *Majma` al-Zawā'id* 7/17, we read the following:

It has been narrated on the authority of Abū-Sa`id al-Khidrī that al-`Abbās, the Holy Prophet's uncle, was one of those who guarded him, but when Allāh revealed, 'And Allāh will protect you from the people,' the guardians stopped.

[Al-Ṭabarānī: *al-Mu`jam al-Ṣaghīr* and *al-Mu`jam al-Awṣaṭ*. Yet, its narrator, `Aṭīyyah al-`Awfī, is doubtful.]

It has been also narrated on the authority of Ibn `Abbās that the Holy Prophet used to be guarded. Abū-Ṭālib, his uncle, used to appoint men from the Hāshimites for guarding him. When Allāh revealed, 'And Allāh will protect you from the people,' the Holy Prophet said to his uncle, 'Almighty Allāh has protected me against jinn and people.'

¹ Al-Ṭabarānī: *al-Mu`jam al-Kabīr* 11/205.

[This report is recorded by al-Ṭabarānī. Within its narrators is al-Naṣr ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān who is doubtful.]

The second sort of narrations has been originated by the following report of al-Tirmidhī: *al-Sunan* 4/317:

It has been narrated on the authority of 'Ā'ishah that guarding was practiced on the Holy Prophet until the revelation of Allāh's saying, 'And Allāh will protect you from the people.' Hence, he took his head out of his tent and said, 'You may leave. The Lord has protected me.' [This is a one-way narration. Nevertheless, some narrators have reported the same from 'Abdullāh ibn Shaqīq without referring to 'Ā'ishah.]¹

Seemingly, 'Ā'ishah's report proposed that the Verse was revealed in Makkah. Al-Bayhaqī, in *al-Sunan* 9/8, supports this claim and adds the forecited saying of al-Shāfi'ī in which he claims that the Holy Prophet was protected against being killed only. In *Tafsīr* 2/4/160, al-Murāghī records al-Suyūṭī's earlier narration as related to Ibn 'Abbās and al-Ṭabarānī. He then comments: 'Al-Tirmidhī had narrated that the Holy Prophet was guarded in Makkah before the revelation of the Verse.' Notwithstanding, 'Ā'ishah's report does not imply that the occurrence was in Makkah. It seems that the phrase 'in Makkah' was unintentionally erased from the original copy of al-Tirmidhī's narration.

About the report of 'Ā'ishah, al-Suyūṭī, in *al-Durr al-Manthūr* 2/291, records:

'Abd ibn Ḥumayd, al-Tirmidhī, ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir, ibn Abī-Ḥātam, Abu'l-Shaykh, Abū-Na'im, al-Bayhaqī and ibn Mardawayh have narrated on the authority of 'Ā'ishah that... etc.

¹ Al-Ḥākim, in *al-Mustadrak* 2/313, has reported the same narration from 'Ā'ishah regarding it as authentically documented; yet, Muslim and al-Bukhārī did not record it.

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Bearing the same indication of `Ā`ishah's report, al-Suyūṭī records a number of narrations some of which hint at the fact that the incident of the guard took place in al-Madīnah.

In *al-Durr al-Manthūr* 2/298-9, al-Suyūṭī records:

Al-Ṭabarānī and Ibn Mardawayh have narrated on the authority of Abū-Sa`īd al-Khidrī that al-'Abbās, the Holy Prophet's uncle, was one of those who guarded the Holy Prophet, but when Almighty Allāh revealed, 'And Allāh will protect you from the people,' the guardians stopped.

In *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwah*, Abū-Na`īm has narrated on the authority of Abū-Dharr that they were always around the Holy Prophet whenever he went to sleep because he anticipated assassination, but when the Verse, 'And Allāh will protect you from the people' was revealed, we stopped.

Many exegetes and historians have adopted this opinion. As if they admit it, al-Zamakhsharī, in *al-Kashāf* 1/659, and al-Rāzī, in *Tafsīr* 6/12/50, record the opinion attesting that the Verse was revealed in Makkah. On that account, they have indicated that the reports of `Ā`ishah, al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī and the others talked about an occurrence that took place in the early stage of the Holy Prophet's Mission.¹

The compiler of *al-Sīrah al-Ḥalabiyyah* has attempted to seize the relationship between the Verse of `Iṣmah and the Holy Prophet's guard so as to invent a virtue for Abū-Bakr. On page 327 of part 3, he records:

Before the revelation of Allāh's saying, 'And Allāh will protect you from the people,' the Holy Prophet was

¹ Al-Suhaylī: *al-Rawḍ al-Anīf* 2/290, al-Qaṣṭalānī: *Irshād al-Sārī* 5/86, Ibn al-'Arabī: *Sharḥ al-Tirmithī* 6/11,174, Al-'Aynī: *Umdat al-Qārī* 7/14,95, Ibn Jazzi: *al-Tashīl* 1/244, al-Nuwayrī: *Nihāyat al-Ḍarab* 8/16,196 and 19/18,342, al-Nisāpūrī: *al-Wasiṭ* 2/209 and al-Damīrī: *Ḥayāt al-Ḥayawān al-Kubrā* 1/79.

guarded by a number of people. The night just before the Battle of Badr, he was guarded by Sa`d ibn Ma`ādh. On the day of the Battle, he was guarded by Abū-Bakr alone. This man kept on unsheathing his sword while the Holy Prophet was sleeping under the canopy.

Unfortunately, the compiler, by the previous words, has contradicted himself; if the cancellation of the guard took place before the immigration to al-Madīnah, then the guard of Abū-Bakr and the others during the Battle of Badr would be ineffective! In addition, it is dubious to believe that Muslims used canopies during the Battle of Badr.

Finally, al-Ḥākim has recorded an authentically documented narration implying that one third of Muslims guarded the Holy Prophet during the Battle of Badr. This is rational because they settled in the uncovered low area of the battlefield.

Al-Ḥākim: *al-Mustadrak* 2/326:

It has been narrated that as he was asked about Sūrah of al-Anfāl, `Abādah ibn al-Ṣāmit said, 'The Sūrah regarded us during the Battle of Badr. We, Muslims, were three groups. The first group was fighting the foes; the second was gathering the spoils and capturing the prisoners; and the third was guarding the Holy Prophet near the tent... etc.

The following points prove the invalidity of the opinion of inventing a relationship between the Verse of `Iṣmah and the guard practiced on the Holy Prophet:

- (1) The forecited discussion of the first opinion,
- (2) The same narrations of the third opinion that claimed that the cancellation of the guard had occurred in al-Madīnah, not Makkah, and
- (3) The major reports that support the opinion involved are `Ā`ishah's and the report of al-`Abbās's having guarded the Holy Prophet. The others are not authenticated. In

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fact, the purpose of most of such reports was to disregard Abū-Ṭālib's role in upholding the Holy Prophet and to prove that he dispensed with Abū-Ṭālib's guard in Makkah.

The earliest report aims at giving al-'Abbās the role of Abū-Ṭālib of guarding the Holy Prophet in Makkah so as to make al-'Abbās the person through whom the Lord protected His Messenger against people.

If truth be told, al-'Abbās, before the immigration to al-Madīnah, played an ordinary role. Like the other Hāshimites, he sympathized with the Holy Prophet and suffered the siege imposed upon them. In addition, it is unproved that he accepted Islām or immigrated to al-Madīnah like 'Alī and Ḥamzah. What is known for everybody is that he was captured during the Battle of Badr and accepted Islām only when he, as well as the other prisoners, was released. It is to add that al-Haythamī and other scholars have decided the inauthenticity of the report, which seems to be clearly weak.

Third Opinion

The third opinion involves that the Verse was revealed in al-Madīnah without a definite date. Al-Suyūṭī records a number of narrations showing no specific time for its revelation, though he connects them to the matter of canceling the guard practiced on the Holy Prophet. Thereabouts, from some of such narrations, it can be understood that the Verse was revealed in al-Madīnah.

Al-Durr al-Manthūr 298-9:

Al-Ṭabarānī and Ibn Mardawayh have narrated the following on the authority of 'Ismah ibn Mālik al-Khatmī:

We used to guard the Holy Prophet at nights until the revelation of Allāh's saying, 'And Allāh will protect you from the people.'

Ibn Jarīr and Abu'l-Shaykh have narrated on the authority of Sa'id ibn Jubayr that when Almighty Allāh revealed,

'And Allāh will protect you from the people,' the Holy Prophet said, 'Do not guard me any longer. My Lord has protected me.'

Ibn Jarir and Ibn Mardawayh have narrated on the authority of 'Abdullāh ibn Shaqīq that some of the Ṣaḥābah used to guard the Holy Prophet whenever he went out, but when Almighty Allāh revealed, 'And Allāh will protect you from the people,' he said, 'Go to your duties. Allāh has protected me against people.'

'Abd ibn Ḥamīd, Ibn Jarir and Abu'l-Shaykh have narrated on the authority of Muḥammad ibn Ka'b al-Qaraḏī that the Ṣaḥābah used to guard the Holy Prophet until the revelation of Almighty Allāh's saying, 'And Allāh will protect you from the people.' The guard was thus canceled as the Lord informed His Messenger about protecting him against people.

'Abd ibn Ḥamīd and Ibn Mardawayh have narrated on the authority of al-Rabī' ibn Anas that the Holy Prophet was guarded by his companions until the revelation of Allāh's saying, 'O Apostle! Deliver...etc.'

Reports respecting the Holy Prophet's history prove that he sought the Arab tribes' protection so that he would convey his Lord's message. Anṣār paid homage to him on the conditions of protecting his household and him as same as they protect they families and themselves. These reports and facts invalidate the claim of the Verse's revelation in Makkah. Had the Verse been revealed in Makkah, the Holy Prophet would not have been in need for such protection and covenant. Reference books of Ḥadīth, Tafsīr and history are filled in with numerous narrations concerning the guard practiced on the Holy Prophet

¹ In *Tārīkh al-Madinah al-Munawwarah* 1/301, Ibn Shaybah has related the same report to 'Abdullāh ibn Shaqīq and Muḥammad ibn Ka'b Al-Qaraḏī. Al-Ṭabarī, in *Tafsīr* 6/199, relates it to 'Abdullāh ibn Shaqīq. For ibn Sa'd, he also records the report in *al-Ṭabaqāt* 1/1/113. Similarly, al-Bayhaqī records it in *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwah* 2/180.

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in Makkah and al-Madīnah, especially during battles. Such guard lasted until the final hours of his lifetime. The elongated chapters about the guard practiced on the Holy Prophet and the stories that took place there prove the invalidity of the opinion under discussion. What is strange is that the same persons who have recorded such reports and stories assert that the Holy Prophet had canceled the guard in Makkah or after the immigration to al-Madīnah when the Verse of 'Iṣmah was revealed, for nothing more than taking the Verse away from the incident of Ghadīr!

From the previous, we have to reject the reports of the total cancellation of the guard before the incident of Ghadīr. We have cited al-Hākim's report relating that the Holy Prophet was guarded by a third of Muslims during the Battle of Badr.

The following report is quoted from Aḥmad's *al-Musnad* 2/222:

A number of the Holy Prophet's companions guarded him while he was offering prayers after the midnight just before the Battle of Tabūk.¹

The Battle of Tabūk took place in the last year of the Holy Prophet's life.

Read the following in *'Uyūn al-Athar* 2/402:

During the Battle of Badr, Sa'd ibn Ma'ādh guarded the Holy Prophet who slept in his canopy. Muḥammad ibn Muslimah was his guard during the Battle of Uḥud. During that of Khandaq, al-Zubayr ibn al-'Awwām was his guard. In Khaybar, the Holy Prophet was guarded by Abū-Ayyūb al-Anṣārī. It is said that he supplicated, 'O Allāh! Protect Abū-Ayyūb for he protected me.' Bilāl, Sa'd ibn Abī-Waqqāṣ and Dhakwān ibn 'Abd-Qays guarded the Holy Prophet in Wādī al-Qirā. 'Abbād ibn Bishr was the commander of the Holy Prophet's guards.

¹ In *Kanz al-'Ummāl* 12/430, the report is related to 'Abdullāh ibn 'Amr ibn Al-'Āṣ. In *Majma' al-Zawā'id* 10/367, it is decided as authentic.

When Allāh revealed, 'And Allāh will protect you from the people,' the guard was canceled.

As he had to find an answer for the reports telling that the Holy Prophet was guarded during the Battle of Tabūk, the compiler interprets 'guarding' into 'waiting'! *'Uyūn al-Athar* 1/119:

Regarding 'Amr ibn Shu'ayb's report concerning guarding the Holy Prophet while he was offering prayers at the night before the Battle of Tabūk, it seems that they were waiting for him. The guard of the Holy Prophet was canceled since the revelation of Allāh's saying, 'And Allāh will protect you from the people,' which was before the Battle of Tabūk. Allāh, however, is the most knowledgeable.

This interpretation is clearly contrary to the many reports of the guard practiced on the Holy Prophet. At any rate, such reports refute the claim that the Verse was revealed in Makkah.

To sum it up, the claim of the cancellation of the guard practiced on the Holy Prophet lacks evidence since it contradicts the history of his life. Besides, the continuation of the guard has been proven through many facts; the Hāshimites guarded the Holy Prophet in Makkah and, altogether with the rest of his companions, in al-Madīnah until the last days of his lifetime.

In my conception, it seems that the attempts of connecting the Verse of 'Iṣmah to the cancellation of the guard denotes the accuracy of the Ahl al-Bayt's interpretation that the Verse stands for the protection against apostasy. From this cause, their dissidents have aimed importunately at citing the material protection and the cancellation of the guard as the interpretation of the Verse, which led them to be engaged in contrast. Nevertheless, they had to disregard the stories relating the Holy Prophet's having been guarded and had to overlook the Column

of the Guards¹ which is still facing them in the Holy Prophet's Masjid since AH 9.

Al-Albānī, having admitted that the Verse was revealed in Makkah, refuted al-Ḥākim's authenticating 'Ā'ishah's report that he himself had already authenticated. He then mentioned the report of assassinating the Holy Prophet as evidence on the authenticity of the previous report.

Fourth Opinion

The fourth opinion is that the Verse was revealed in al-Madīnah in the second year of the Holy Prophet's immigration after the Battle of Uḥud.

Al-Suyūṭī, in *al-Durr al-Manthūr* 2/291, records the following:

Ibn Abī-Shaybah and Ibn Jarīr have narrated on the authority of 'Aṭīyah ibn Sa'd that 'Abādah ibn al-Ṣāmit, once, came to the Holy Prophet and said, 'Allāh's Messenger: I have concluded a covenant of loyalty with many of the Jews, but I now declare that I disavow such covenants and declare my loyalty to Allāh and His Messenger. 'Abdullāh ibn Ubay was present; he spoke, 'For me, I fear vicissitudes of time. I cannot break my covenant with them.' Hence, the Holy Prophet said to him, 'Abū-Ḥabbāb: You have appreciated the covenant broken by 'Abādah; so, you can keep it for yourself alone.' 'Abdullāh then accepted. On that account, Almighty Allāh revealed, 'O you who believe! Do not take the Jews and the Christians for friend... and Allāh will protect you from the people.'

The previous discussion of the narrations of the guard is sufficient for proving the falsehood of this report. In addition, the report was the words of 'Aṭīyah ibn Sa'd, not the Holy Prophet. Finally, the Verses remarked in the report were 51 to

¹ Ibn Hushām: *al-Sīrah* 4/21.

67 of Sūrah of al-Mā'idah which no single narrator has ever claimed that they were revealed because of the story of 'Abdullāh ibn Ubay's loyalty to the Jews. At length, 'Abdullāh was deceased before the revelation of Sūrah of al-Mā'idah.

Fifth Opinion

The fifth opinion is that the Verse was revealed immediately after an attempt of assassinating the Holy Prophet. Contradiction is the distinctive feature of the reports narrating that assassination; some narrators have told that the attempt took place during the Battle of Thāt al-Riqā' when a person approached the Holy Prophet and asked for his sword so that he would see carefully. The Holy Prophet gave him his sword so negligently...etc. Other narrations have mentioned that the sword was hanged or that the Holy Prophet was inadvertent or that he was dipping his legs in a well... etc.

Al-Suyūṭī, in *al-Durr al-Manthūr* 2/298-9, records the following:

Ibn Abī-Ḥātam has narrated on the authority of Jābir ibn 'Abdullāh that after the Battle of Thāt al-Riqā', the Holy Prophet rested on a well and dipped his legs therein. Meanwhile, Ghawrath ibn al-Ḥarth decided to kill him but his companions asked, 'How will you kill him?' 'I will ask him to give me his sword and I will kill him then,' said Ghawrath. He then approached and said, 'Muḥammad: Give me your sword.' The Holy Prophet did. As soon as the man held the sword, his hands began to shiver. 'Allāh has precluded you from what you had intended to do,' said the Holy Prophet. Hence, Almighty Allāh revealed, 'O Apostle! Deliver what... etc.'

Ibn Jarīr has narrated on the authority of Muḥammad ibn Ka'b Al-Qarazī that the Holy Prophet, once, rested under a tree when a Bedouin man unsheathed his sword and shouted, 'Who will protect you against me?' 'Allāh will,' answered the Holy Prophet. Suddenly, the man's hands shivered and he could no longer hold the sword. [Others added] He rammed his head to a tree and his brain was

scattered. Hence, Allāh revealed, 'And Allāh will protect you from the people.'

Ibn Ḥabbān and Ibn Mardawayh have reported on the authority of Abū-Hurayrah that the Holy Prophet, once, rested under a tree, which was the most extensive because we used to select the largest tree for him during journeys. He hanged his sword to that tree when a man came and drew the sword shouting, 'Muḥammad! Who will protect you against me.' 'Allāh will,' said the Holy Prophet, 'Put that sword away.' Hence, Allāh revealed, 'And Allāh will protect you from the people.'

Other narrators have reported that a person was arrested because he had tried to assassinate the Holy Prophet. In *al-Durr al-Manthūr* 2/299, it has been narrated that the Holy Prophet said to the arrested man who was charged of trying to assassinate him, 'You should have regarded me! Even if you had had such an opportunity, Almighty Allāh would have prevented you from doing it.'

The inaccuracy of this opinion can be proved through the following points:

- (1) According to ibn Hushām, in *al-Sīrah* 3/225, the Battle of Thāt al-Riqā' took place in AH 4. Many years after this date, Sūrah of al-Mā'idah was revealed. Some reports of the incident have not defined a date and others have been logically unacceptable.
- (2) The major reference books recording the story of Ghawrath and the Battle of Thāt al-Riqā' have not referred to the revelation of the Verse of 'Iṣmah; rather most of them have referred to the legislation of the ritual Prayer of Anticipating Dangers (*Ṣalāt al-Khawf*) and the practice of more watchful guard on the Holy Prophet even during prayers.

These two points are sufficient for refuting the claim of the revelation of the Verse on such occasions.

Ibn Hushām has mentioned that Almighty Allāh's saying, 'O you who believe! Remember Allāh's favor on you when a people had determined to stretch forth their hands towards you, but He withheld their hands from you...,¹ was revealed on that occasion.' This is also inaccurate since the Verse is also in Sūrah of al-Mā'idah.

Al-Bukhāri, as well as many others, has mentioned that the Verse was revealed for the *Ṣalāt al-Khawf* and the practice of more watchful guard on the Holy Prophet due to that incident:

It has been narrated on the authority of Jābir ibn `Abdullāh that the Holy Prophet, once, rested under a tree to which he hanged his sword in his journey back from a campaign in Najd. As each one searched for a tree to sleep under its shadow, they were waked up by the Holy Prophet's loud voice. When they approached, they saw a Bedouin man sitting before him. The Holy Prophet then said, "While I was sleeping, this man unsheathed my sword; so I woke up and saw him raising it towards me saying 'Who will protect you against me?' 'Allāh will,' I answered. The result then is what you see now." The Holy Prophet, however, did not punish him.

It has been narrated on the authority of Abū-Salamah that Jābir ibn `Abdullāh reported that in Thāt al-Riqā', the Holy Prophet rested under a large tree that we have left for him. A polytheist came and unsheathed the Holy Prophet's sword, which was hanged to the tree and said, 'Well, now you should fear me.' 'No, I should not,' answered the Holy Prophet. 'Who will protect you against me?' said the man. 'Allāh will,' answered the Holy Prophet. We then came and threatened that man. Then it was time for a prayer; hence, the Holy Prophet led a group of us in a two Rak`ah prayer then the other group came instead.

¹ Ibn Hushām: *al-Sirah* 3/227.

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It has been narrated on the authority of Musaddad on the authority of Abū-`Uwānah on the authority of Abū-Bishr that the polytheist man's name was Ghawrath ibn al-Harth.¹

The most acceptable form of Ghawrath's story can be seen in al-Kulayni: *al-Kāfi* 8/127:

It has been narrated on the authority of Abān ibn Taghlib on the authority of Abū-Baṣīr that Imām Abū-`Abdullāh al-Ṣādiq (a.s), once, narrated that while the Holy Prophet rested under a tree on the edge of a valley, a torrent came between his companions and him. Hence, the companions waited for that torrent to stop. Meanwhile, a polytheist man determined to kill the Holy Prophet; he attacked him with his sword shouting, 'Who will protect you against me?' 'Your and my Lord will,' answered the Holy Prophet. Immediately, Archangel Gabriel knocked that man down. The Holy Prophet took the sword and sat on his chest saying, 'Now, who will protect you against me, Ghawrath?' 'Your benevolence and humanity will,' said the man. Forthwith, the Holy Prophet left him. The man stood up shouting, 'By Allāh I swear, you are better and more benevolent than I am.'

Major reference books of Ḥadīth have not mentioned that the Verse was revealed during the Battle of Thāt al-Riqā' or on the occasion of Ghawrath's attempt of assassination. Furthermore, it has been clear that after that incident, the Holy Prophet ordered to guard him more watchfully even during the prayers.

¹ Al-Bukhārī: *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 5/53. Also, al-Ḥākim's *al-Mustadrak* 3/29 referring to the legislation of *Ṣalāt al-Khawf* and the practice of guard that is more watchful on the Holy Prophet. He has also decided the authenticity of the report according to the criteria of Muslim and al-Bukhārī who though did not record it. For Aḥmad, he has referred to Ghawrath's story in *al-Musnad* 3/364, 390 with reference to the legislation of *Ṣalāt al-Khawf* disregarding the revelation of the Verse. Refer to 4/59 of the same reference book. Except the reference to the revelation of the Verse, many details of the story have been written down in al-Haythamī's *Majma' al-Zawā'id* 9/8.

The adopters of this opinion may have understood that the canceling of the guard meant that the Holy Prophet suspected the divine protection!

The following opinions of ibn Ḥajar and al-Qurṭubī is a part of their confusion in inventing a relationship between the Verse of `Iṣmah and Ghawrath's story. Al-Qurṭubī says that the Holy Prophet's having being alone during the events of the story proves that he was not guarded and, as a sequence, the Verse of `Iṣmah was already revealed. Ibn Ḥajar answers, 'No, the Verse was revealed on that day; so, the guards' job was canceled. Before that, the Holy Prophet's conviction was sometimes increasing and in other times decreasing. He took guards whenever his confidence decreased and canceled it when his confidence increased. During the events of Ghawrath's story, the Holy Prophet's confidence was considerable; therefore, he was not guarded.'¹

Ibn Ḥajar misses the fact that Sūrah of al-Mā'idah was revealed in AH 10 while the Battle of Thāt al-Riqā' took place in AH 4 and that Abū-Hurayrah (the reporter of the incident) put his feet, for the first time, in al-Madinah in AH 7. He also misses that Ṣalāt al-Khawf and the watchful guard were legislated in Thāt al-Riqā'. However, his one and only aim was to take the Verse of `Iṣmah away from the incidents on Ghadīr Khumm.

The reports confirming that the Holy Prophet was guarded during the Battle of Tabūk that took place six years after the Battle of Thāt al-Riqā' have been already forecited. Through authentic reports, we have proved that the Holy Prophet was guarded even during the conquest of Makkah that took place four years after the forecited incident. Read the following narration as quoted from al-Bukhārī: *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 5/91:

It has been narrated on the authority of Hushām on the authority of his father that when people of Quraysh were informed about the Holy Prophet's progress towards

¹ Ibn Ḥajar: *Fath al-Bārī* 8/2752.

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Makkah, Abū-Sufyān ibn Ḥarb, Ḥakīm ibn Ḥizām and Badīl ibn Warqā`... The Holy Prophet's guards could capture them... etc.

Sixth Opinion

The sixth opinion claims that the Verse is generally referring to the Holy Prophet's having been ordered to convey the Lord's message, lest he should not be regarded as conveyor.

The following is quoted from *al-Durr al-Manthūr* 2/299:

'Abd ibn Ḥamīd, Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir, Ibn Abī-Ḥātam and Abu'l-Shaykh have narrated on the authority of Qatādah that in this Verse, the Lord acquaints His Messenger that he will protect him against people and orders him to convey the message... etc.

To great extent, this opinion is similar to the first one. The previous topics may be enough for refutation. Besides, the reports of this opinion are not documented and not enough for achieving the condition therein.

The Opinion Agreeing the Ahl al-Bayt's Interpretation

Let us first refer to the following narrations:

Al-Suyūṭī: *al-Durr al-Manthūr* 2/298:

Ibn Abī-Ḥātam, Ibn Mardawayh and Ibn 'Asākir have narrated on the authority of Abū-Sa'id al-Khidrī that the Verse of 'Iṣmah was revealed to the Holy Prophet on the day of Ghadīr regarding 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib.

Ibn Mardawayh has narrated that Ibn Mas'ūd said, 'Before the Holy Prophet, we used to recite the Verse in this form, 'O Apostle! Deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord (i.e. about the matter that 'Alī being the leader of the believers) and if you do it not, then you have not delivered His message.'

Abū-Ja'far al-Iskāfī: *al-Mi'yār wa'l-Muwazanah* 213:

It has been narrated that Jābir ibn `Abdullāh and `Abdullāh ibn al-`Abbās said that the Holy Prophet felt some fear when Almighty Allāh ordered him to nominate `Alī as the next leader and instruct people to pay homage to him. He anticipated that people would accuse him of favoring his cousin. Hence, Almighty Allāh revealed, 'O Apostle! Deliver... etc.' On that day in Ghadīr Khumm, the Holy Prophet delivered the message to people.

As a footnote, he adds:

Al-Suyūṭī, in *al-Durr al-Manthūr*, records that Ibn Mardawayh and Ibn `Asākir have narrated on the authority of Abū-Sa`īd al-Khidrī that after the Holy Prophet had nominated `Alī as the next leader and asked people to pay him homage, Archangel Gabriel conveyed Almighty Allāh's saying, 'This day have I completed your religion for you and perfected My favor on you... etc.'¹

Al-Khaṭīb, al-Ḥasakānī, Ibn `Asākir, Ibn Kathīr, al-Khawārmī and Ibn al-Maghāzilī have narrated that Abū-Hurayrah said, "Whoever observes fasting on the eighteenth of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah will be granted the reward of a sixty-month fasting. It is the day of Ghadīr when the Holy Prophet took `Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib from the hand and said, 'I am the master of the believers, aren't I?' 'Yes, you are,' affirmed people. He then declared, 'Whoever has regarded me as his master must regard `Alī as his master.' `Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb then said to `Alī, 'Congratulations son of Abū-Ṭālib! You have become my master and the master of every Muslim.' Then, Almighty Allāh revealed, 'This day have I completed your religion for you and perfected My favor on you... etc.'²

¹ Al-Ḥasakānī: *Shawāhid al-Tanzīl* 1/157 N. 211, Ibn `Asākir: *Tārīkh Dimashq* 2/85 Chapter: `Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib's Lifetime, N. 585-6.

² For more details, see the consecutive works that dealt with the Ḥadīth of Ghadīr, such as Ibn `Uqdah: *al-Risālah*, al-Ṭabari: *Ḥadīth al-Ghadīr*, al-Dārquṭnī: *Ḥadīth al-Ghadīr*, Al-Dhabbi: *Ḥadīth al-Ghadīr*, `Ubaydullāh al-Ḥasakānī: *Ḥadīth al-Ghadīr*, Mas`ūd al-Sajistānī: *Ḥadīth al-Ghadīr*. For

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Sayyid al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, in *Tafsīr al-Mizān* 6/54, records the following:

Al-Tha'labī in *Tafsīr* has recorded that Ja'far ibn Muḥammad said, "Almighty Allāh's saying, 'O Apostle! Deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord,' refers to 'Alī. Immediately after the revelation of the Verse, the Holy Prophet took 'Alī from the hand and declared, "Whoever has regarded me as his master must now regard 'Alī as his master."

It has been also narrated on the authority of al-Kalbī on the authority of Abū-Ṣāliḥ on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās that the Verse was revealed about 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib. Allāh ordered the Holy Prophet to instruct people to pay homage to 'Alī; so, he took him from the arm and declared, 'Whoever has regarded me as his master must now regard 'Alī as his master. O Allāh! Be the supporter of him who will support 'Alī and be the enemy of him who will antagonize 'Alī."

The following is quoted from 'Allāmah al-Amīnī: *al-Ghadīr* 1/214:

The Verse was revealed on the eighteenth of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah, AH 10, the year of the Farewell Ḥajj. When the Holy Prophet resided in Ghadīr Khumm, Archangel Gabriel came to him and said, "Muḥammad: Almighty Allāh greets you and says: O Apostle! Deliver what has been revealed to you (i.e. regarding 'Alī succession) from your Lord; and if you do it not, then you have not delivered His message, and Allāh will protect you from the people." The foregoing people who were more than 100,000 individuals were about to reach al-Juḥafah. The Holy Prophet ordered them to return and ordered the others to halt in that place. He then nominated 'Alī as the leader of Muslims and told them about the divine

further information, see al-Amīnī: *Kitāb al-Ghadīr* and Ḥamid Ḥusayn al-Lakahnūwī: *'Abaqāt al-Anwār* as well many reference books of Ḥadīth.

revelation that Almighty Allāh would protect him against people. For the Imāmiyyah, this fact is indisputable. Yet, we should provide reports from Sunni reference books of Ḥadīth as evidences.

Al-Amīnī, thereafter, refers to thirty Sunni reference books that have related reports respecting the revelation of the Verse about Imām `Alī's succession. Let us now refer to some of them in brief:

1. Al-Ṭabarī, Abū-Ja`far Muḥammad ibn Jarīr (died in AH 310): *al-Wilāyah*. In this book, he has narrated on the authority of Zayd ibn Arqam that when the Holy Prophet was back from the Farewell Ḥajj, he resided in Ghadīr Khumm. It was the first hours of that extremely hot day when he ordered to sweep a height there and gather people. As soon as they were before him, he delivered an eloquent sermon saying, "The Lord has revealed to me... etc.
2. Al-Ḥanzalī, ibn Abi-Ḥātam Abū-Muḥammad al-Rāzī (died in AH 327)
3. Al-Maḥāmili, Abū-'Abdullāh (died in AH 330.) In *al-Amālī*, he has related the report to Ibn `Abbās.
4. Al-Fārisī, Abū-Bakr al-Shirāzī (died in AH 407); he has related the report to ibn `Abbās.
5. Ibn Mardawayh (AH 323-416); he has related on the authority Abū-Sa`id al-Khidrī that the Verse was revealed on that day in Ghadīr Khumm for declaring the leadership of `Alī ibn Abi-Ṭālib. He has also recorded that Ibn Mas`ūd said, "In the presence of the Holy Prophet, we used to recite the Verse of `Iṣmah as, 'O Apostle! Deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord (i.e. regarding `Alī being the leader of the believers) and if you do it not, then you have not delivered His message.'"

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6. Al-Tha`labī, Abū-Ishāq al-Nisāpūrī (died in AH 427); he has recorded the report in *al-Kashf wa`l-Bayān*.
7. Al-Iṣfahānī, Abū-Na`īm (died in AH 430); he has recorded the report in *Mā Nazala Min al-Qur`ān fī Haqq `Alī* (The Qur`ānic Verses About `Alī).
8. Al-Wāḥidī, Abū`l-Ḥasan al-Nisāpūrī, (died in AH 468); In *Asbāb al-Nuzūl*, he has related the report.
9. Al-Sajistānī, Abū-Sa`īd, (died in AH 477); he has narrated the report in *al-Wilāyah*.
10. Al-Ḥasakānī, al-Ḥākim Abū`l-Qāsim; in *Shawāhid al-Tanzīl li Qawā`id al-Tafḍīl Wa`l-Ta`wīl*, he has recorded the report.
11. Ibn `Asākir, Abū`l-Qāsim al-Shāfi`ī (died in AH 471); he has related the report to Abū-Sa`īd al-Khidrī.
12. Al-Naṭanzī, Abū`l-Fath; in *al-Khaṣā`iṣ al-`Alawiyyah*, he has recorded the report.
13. Al-Rāzī, Fakhr al-Dīn al-Shāfi`ī (died in AH 606); in *al-Tafsīr al-Kabīr* 3/636, he has recorded that the Verse was revealed for `Alī. The Prophet took him from the hand and declared, 'Whoever has regarded me as his master must now regard `Alī as his master.'
14. Al-Naṣībī, Abū-Sālim al-Shāfi`ī (died in AH 652); he has recorded the report in *Maṭālib al-Sa`ūl* 16.
15. Al-Ras`anī, `Izz al-Dīn al-Mawṣli al-Ḥanbalī (born in AH 589)
16. Al-Ḥamawīnī, Abū-Ishāq, Shaykh al-Islām (died in AH 722); in *Farā`id al-Simṭayn*, he has recorded the report on the authority of his three masters: Sayyid Burhān al-Dīn Ibrāhīm ibn `Umar al-Ḥusaynī al-Madanī, Shaykh Majd al-Dīn `Abdullāh ibn Maḥmūd al-Mawṣli and Badr

al-Dīn Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad ibn As'ad al-Bukhārī on the authority of Abū-Hurayrah.

17. Al-Hamadānī, 'Alī (died in AH 786); in *Mawaddat al-Qurbā*, he has recorded that al-Barrā' ibn 'Āzib said, "I accompanied the Holy Prophet in the journey back from the Farewell Ḥajj. As we reached Ghadīr Khumm, he gathered people, sat to a tree and took 'Alī from the hand and said, 'I am preferred to your souls, aren't I?' 'Yes, you are, Allāh's messenger!' asserted people. 'Whoever has regarded me as his master must now regard 'Alī as his master. O Allāh! Be the supporter of him who will support 'Alī and be the enemy of his who will oppose 'Alī,' declared the Holy Prophet. 'Umar, May Allāh please him, met 'Alī and said, 'Congratulations, 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib! You have become my master and the master of every male and female believer.' That was the result of Allāh's saying, 'O Apostle! Deliver... etc.'
18. Badr al-Dīn ibn al-'Aynī al-Hanafī (AH 762-855); in *Umdat al-Qārī fī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* 8/584, he has recorded the report respecting the Verse on the authority of al-Wāḥidī.

WAHHĀBIS AND THE ḤADĪTH OF GHADĪR

It is strange to find the opinion of the Ahl al-Bayt regarding the interpretation of the Verse of 'Iṣmah in Sunni reference books of Ḥadīth, because it collapses the claims about Imāmate and succession of the Holy Prophet which people of Quraysh and their fans have spared no efforts in attempting to convince Muslims with. From this cause, Naṣībīs are extremely incensed for the existence of the Ḥadīth of Ghadīr on innumerable pages of Sunni reference books of Ḥadīth. They have always wished had such reports been erased from such books. Consequently, they have showered insults and accusations at the Shī'ah and their scholars for they have always referred to the existence of such reports in such books. Instead, they should have studied

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such reports on the light of the Qur'ān and the authentic Ḥadīths.

Al-Albānī; in *Salsalat al-AḤadīth al-Ṣaḥīḥah* 5/644, has recorded the following:

The Holy Prophet used to be guarded until the revelation Almighty Allāh saying, 'And Allāh will protect you from the people.' He then took his head out of the tent and ordered the guards to leave him since he would be protected by the Lord.

Al-Tirmidhī (2/175), Ibn Jarīr (6-199) and al-Ḥākim (2/3) have narrated the report on the authority of al-Ḥārith ibn 'Ubayd on the authority of Sa'id al-Jarīrī on the authority of 'Abd ibn Shaqīq on the authority of 'Ā'ishah. Al-Tirmidhī, however, has regarded it as strange. Others have reported it on the authority of the same series except 'Ā'ishah. This is in fact more accurate because al-Ḥārith ibn 'Ubayd who is the same as Abū-Qudāmah al-Iyādī is rather doubtful in affairs regarding his memorization. About him, al-Ḥāfiz says that although he is honest, he makes mistakes. Some of those to whom al-Tirmidhī had referred, such as Ismā'il ibn 'Ilyah the trustworthy, contradicted this opinion. Ibn Jarīr has narrated the report on the authority of Ismā'il on the authority of al-Jarīrī interruptedly. Hence, the report is actually interruptedly transmitted and al-Ḥākim's having decided its authenticity as related on the authority of 'Ā'ishah is inaccurate although al-Dhabbī has regarded it as authentic, too. In conclusion, the report is authentic since it has been testified by the report of Abū-Hurayrah that the Prophet, once, rested under a tree, which was the most extensive because we used to select the largest tree for him during journeys. He hanged his sword to that tree when a man came and drew the sword shouting, 'Muḥammad! Who will protect you against me.' 'Allāh will,' said the Holy Prophet, 'Put that sword away.' Hence, Allāh revealed, 'And Allāh will protect you from the people.' According to Ibn Kathīr, *al-Bidāyah wa'l-Nihāyah* 6/198, Ibn Ḥabbān, in *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*, and Ibn

Mardawayh have recorded the previous narration from two ways of documentation... etc.

It is worth mentioning that the Shī`ah, depending upon numerous narrations most of which are incomplete or interruptedly transmitted, have claimed that the Verse was revealed on that day in Ghadir Khumm for `Alī, May Allāh please him,. This is however contrary to the forecited reports. They have cited Abū-Sa`īd al-Khidrī's report, which is forged. I have proven this fact during discussing the report numbered 4922. Without studying its documentation, `Abd al-Ḥusayn¹ the Shiite has referred to of such narrations in *al-Murāja`āt* 38. Since his only purpose was to enlist any word that may serve his sect, he used to cite any narration as evidence without paying any attention to its documentation or discriminatory study. However, the Shī`ah have adopted the rule that the end justifies the means. Beware of this man and his narrations! Moreover, he used to defraud, if not lie to, the readers; referring to the report that was falsely ascribed to Abū-Sa`īd al-Khidrī, for instance, the man has claimed that a many compilers of Sunni reference books of Ḥadīth, such as al-Wāḥidī, have recorded that report. Even the beginners know that al-Wāḥidī is not one of the compilers of the four most remarkable Sunni reference books of Ḥadīth. He is an interpreter of the Holy Qur`ān who might have mentioned authentic and doubtful reports indistinctly. However, Abū-Sa`īd al-Khidrī's report was doubtful because it has been narrated on the authority of extremely doubtful and neglected narrators. After they had adopted Taqiyyah (pious simulation), the Shī`ah have deemed lawful to forge lies against Sunnis in their books and sermons. This matter is clearly unveiled in al-Khomaynī's book entitled *Kashf al-`Asrār*. It is quite evident that Taqiyyah is the spouse of fabrication. Accordingly, Shaykh al-Islām Ibn Taymiyah, who knew the Shī`ah more than anyone else did, said, 'The Shī`ah

¹ `Abd al-Ḥusayn Sharaf al-Dīn al-`Āmili; the compiler of the famous book of *al-Murāja`āt* as well as many others.

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are the biggest fabricators of all Muslims.' I myself obviously noticed the fabrication of some of their scholars, especially 'Abd al-Ḥusayn who has deluded the readers into imagining that the authenticity of the report is beyond dispute for the Sunni scholar because of its numerous ways of narration. Al-Khumaynī has been bigger fabricator! On page 149 of the forecited book, he has claimed the revelation of Verse of 'Iṣmah on the day of Ghadīr in which the Prophet was ordered to declare the Imāmate of 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib. He has ascribed this to Sunni scholars and decided the unanimity of the Shī'ah on that matter. Allāh may reward that man as exactly as what he deserves.

Answering al-Albānī, we say, first, that the style of insults and reviling at people, as well as issuing inaccurate judgments, should be eluded, for it is not rightful for al-Albānī to classify the Islāmic groups as to their honesty and dishonesty. Among Sunnis and Shiites, there are various kinds of people. Yet, Naṣībīs are excluded for they are subjected to definite rules. Al-Albānī should not forget that he defended Imām 'Alī (a.s) and refuted ibn Taymiyah who wronged him and denied that the Holy Prophet said about him in the famous incident of Ghadīr Khumm, 'Whoever has regarded me as his master must now regard 'Alī as his master. O Allāh! Be the supporter of him who will support 'Alī and be the enemy of him who will oppose 'Alī.' In the same place, al-Albānī, in *Salsalat al-Aḥādīth al-Ṣaḥīḥah* 5/330, No. 1750, has decided the authenticity of the forecited Ḥadīth. Ibn Taymiyah would never be expected to give the Shī'ah their due since he had wronged their Imām!

On page 344 of the same book, al-Albānī adds:

As I saw Ibn Taymiyah considering the Ḥadīth¹ as doubtful in its first half and untrue in its second, I have

¹ 'Whoever has regarded me as his master must now regard 'Alī as his master. O Allāh! Be the supporter of him who will support 'Alī and be the enemy of him who will oppose 'Alī.'

had to write down these pages and prove that the Ḥadīth is authentic. In my conception, the reason beyond such exaggeration of Ibn Taymiyah was that he used to be hasty in deciding the inauthenticity of some Ḥadīths before studying them! Nevertheless, the Shī'ah have been completely inaccurate as they claimed that the Holy Prophet nominated 'Alī as his successor through such Ḥadīths. History has proven the falsity of this claim; if the Holy Prophet had indeed said such a thing, it should have occurred because the source of his words is the Divine Revelation and Allāh never breaks His promise.

While he criticizes ibn Taymiyah's hastiness, al-Albānī himself jumped to inaccurate conclusions confusing the legislative instruction with the divine prediction. Had al-Albānī's words been right, the Ḥadīth that he already decided as authentic would have been invalid. In other words, the Holy Prophet's saying, 'Whoever has regarded me as his master must now regard 'Alī as his master,' which al-Albānī has decided as authentic must have been originated from the Divine Revelation, too. Hence, such a divine prediction, as al-Albānī has decided, should befall and that 'Alī should be the leader of Muslims who should precede him to themselves in the same way as they preceded the Holy Prophet. However, this matter did not take place; on the contrary, they attacked the house of 'Alī and Fāṭimah two or three days after the Holy Prophet's departure and threatened flaming the house if the people there would not come out and pay homage to the new leader. Finally, they forced 'Alī to pay homage. All these events are as clear as the sun. On that account, the Holy Prophet's saying, 'Alī will be my successor' is as same as his saying, 'Whoever has regarded me as his master must now regard 'Alī as his master.' If the earlier is divine prediction, as al-Albānī claims, the latter should be, too! Both texts refer to a legislative instruction and a guide leading Muslims to their duties so that any contrary event would not take place.

Secondly, al-Albānī has decided the report dedicating the Verse of 'Iṣmah to the event of the congregational declaration of

loyalty in Ghadīr as inauthentic; has he studied the reports so as to have the right to say that most of these narrations have been incompletely transmitted or doubtful? Has he investigated the ways of narrating the Ḥadīth that was reported by al-Tha`labī, Abū-Na`im, al-Wāḥidī, Abū-Sa`id al-Sajistānī, al-Ḥasakānī and many others? Has he scrutinized these ways of narration before he decided that most of them have been incompletely transmitted or doubtful? Has he found that any of the narrators are neglected by him? Finally, he committed the same error of Ibn Taymiyah whom he had criticized!

In any event, al-Albānī still has enough time to correct his errors. We hope that he would write down his notes respecting the discussion of the exegesis of the Verse of `Iṣmah and study, on his own criteria, the ways of narration and documentation that we have cited provided that he would not contradict his previous words and avoid deciding a narrator as doubtful for nothing other than having referred to Imām `Alī's merits while he admits on the other reports relating the merits of Imām `Alī's rivals!

مرکز تحقیقات کتب و اسناد اسلامی

Let us now refer to the ways of documentation quoted from one reference book, which is *Shawāhid al-Tanzīl li-Qawā'id al-Tafḍīl* by al-Ḥākim al-Ḥasakānī—`Abdullāh ibn `Abdullāh ibn Aḥmad al-`Amirī al-Qurayshī the student of al-Ḥākim al-Nisāpūrī. On pages 250-7, he writes down:

244. Abū-`Abdullāh Al-Daynūrī has narrated to us on the authority of Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Iṣḥāq ibn Ibrāhīm al-Sunnī on the authority of `Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Ḥamdān on the authority of Muḥammad ibn `Uthmān al-`Absī on the authority of Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad ibn Maymūn on the authority of `Alī ibn `Ābis al-A`mash on the authority of Abu'l-Jihāf Dāwūd ibn Abī-`Awf on the authority of `Atṭīyyah on the authority of Abū-Sa`id al-Khidrī that the Verse of `Iṣmah was revealed about `Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib.

¹ Revised by Shaykh Muḥammad Bāqir al-Maḥmūdī.

245. Al-Ḥākim Abū-'Abdullāh al-Ḥāfiẓ has narrated to us on the authority of 'Alī ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Īsā al-Dahqān in al-Kūfah on the authority of al-Ḥusayn ibn al-Ḥakam al-Ḥibrī on the authority of al-Kalbī on the authority of Abū-Ṣāliḥ on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās that the Verse of 'Iṣmah was revealed about 'Alī. Immediately after the revelation, the Holy Prophet carried out the divine order of conveying. He took 'Alī from the hand and declared, 'Whoever has regarded me as his master must now regard 'Alī as his master. O Allāh! Be the supporter of him who will support 'Alī and be the enemy of him who will oppose him.'
246. A group of people have narrated the same report on the authority of al-Ḥibrī, and al-Subay'ī in his book of *Tafsīr* has also narrated on the authority of al-Ḥibrī. Other people have narrated it on the authority of al-Kalbī. I have compiled a book in ten volumes and entitled *Du'āt al-Hudāt Ilā Adā' Ḥaqq al-Muwālāt* in which I have referred to the ways of the documentation of this report in details.
247. Abū-Bakr al-Sukkarī has narrated to us on the authority of Abū-'Amr al-Muqrī on the authority of al-Ḥasan ibn Sufyān on the authority of Aḥmad ibn Azhar on the authority of 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Amr ibn Jibillah on the authority of 'Umar ibn Na'im ibn 'Umar ibn Qays al-Māṣir on the authority of his grandfather that 'Abdullāh ibn Abī-Awfā, on that day in Ghadīr Khumm, heard the Holy Prophet reciting the Verse of 'Iṣmah. He then raised his hands so upwardly that his armpits were seen and said, 'Whoever has regarded me as his master must now regard 'Alī as his master. O Allāh! Be the supporter of him who will support 'Alī and be the enemy of him who will oppose 'Alī. O Allāh! Be the witness.'
248. 'Amr ibn Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad has narrated to us on the authority of Zāhir ibn Aḥmad on the authority of Abū-Bakr Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā al-Ṣawli on the authority of al-Mughīrah ibn Muḥammad on the authority of 'Alī ibn

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Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān al-Nawfalī on the authority of his father that Ziyād ibn al-Mundhir said: I was present when Abū-Ja'far Muḥammad ibn 'Alī (Imām al-Bāqir), while instructing people, was asked by a man named 'Uthmān al-A'shā who used to relate al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī's instructions, 'Son of Allāh's Messenger: May Allāh make my soul your ransom! Once, al-Ḥasan recited the Verse of 'Iṣmah then commented that it was revealed about somebody whom he had not identified.' The Imām said, 'He would have told if he had wanted. Nevertheless, he feared misfortunes! Archangel Gabriel, once, descended to the Holy Prophet and conveyed that the Lord ordered him to instruct people how to perform the ritual prayers; so, he carried out. He then descended and conveyed that the Lord ordered the Holy Prophet to instruct people how to fast; so, he carried out. He then descended and conveyed that the Lord ordered the Holy Prophet to instruct people how to undertake the ritual Hajj; so, he carried out. He then descended and conveyed that the Lord ordered the Holy Prophet to lead people to their leader so that the Lord would have His claim against them perfected. The Holy Prophet said, "My Lord: My people have still born the customs of Jāhiliyah. They are filled in with rivalry and pride. The man whom I should introduce as their leader has beheaded a single man, at least, from each house of my people. I anticipate that they would apostatize from the religion if I declare that.' Immediately, Almighty Allāh revealed, 'O Apostle! Deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord; and if you do it not, then you have not delivered His message (so completely), and Allāh will protect you from the people; surely Allāh will not guide the unbelieving people.' When the Holy Prophet guaranteed the protection of Almighty Allāh, he took 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib from the hand and said, 'People: Whoever has regarded me as his master must now regard 'Alī as his master. O Allāh! Be the supporter of him who will support 'Alī and be the enemy of him who will oppose 'Alī and give victory to him who will support 'Alī and disappoint him who will disappoint 'Alī and love him who will love

'Alī and dislike him who will dislike 'Alī.' Commenting on the narration, 'Uthmān al-A'shā said, 'The best thing that I ever gained during that journey was this narration.'

249. 'Alī ibn Mūsā ibn Ishāq has narrated to me on the authority of Muḥammad ibn Mas'ūd ibn Muḥammad on the authority of Sahl ibn Baḥr on the authority of al-Faḍl ibn Shādhān on the authority of Muḥammad ibn Abi-'Umayr on the authority of 'Umar ibn 'Udhaynah on the authority of al-Kalbī on the authority of Abū-Ṣāliḥ that Ibn 'Abbās and Jābir ibn 'Abdullāh said that the Holy Prophet anticipated that people would criticize and revile at him when he would convey his Lord's instructions of nominating 'Alī as their next leader. He expected them to accuse him of favoring his cousin for personal goals. Hence, Almighty Allāh revealed the Verse of 'Iṣmah. Immediately, the Holy Prophet declared that 'Alī would be the next leader of Muslims. That was in Ghadīr Khumm.

250. Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim ibn Aḥmad has narrated to me on the authority of Abū-Ja'far Muḥammad ibn 'Alī on the authority of his father on the authority of Sa'd ibn 'Abdullāh on the authority of Aḥmad ibn 'Abdullāh al-Barqī on the authority of his father on the authority of Khalaf ibn 'Ammār al-Asadī on the authority of Abu'l-Ḥasan al-'Abdī on the authority of al-A'mash on the authority of 'Abāyah ibn Rab'ī that 'Abdullāh ibn 'Abbās (narrating the story of the Holy Prophet's Night Ascension) said that Almighty Allāh said, 'I have assigned a vicegerent for each Prophet and thus you are the Messenger of Allāh and 'Alī is your vicegerent.' When the Holy Prophet returned to the earth, he disliked telling people about that divine commission because they had just converted to Islām. Six days after the incident, Almighty Allāh revealed His saying, 'Then, it may be that you will give up a part of what is revealed to you and your breast will become straitened by it.' The Holy Prophet waited for more eighteen days. Then Almighty Allāh revealed to him, 'O Apostle! Deliver what has been revealed to you from

your Lord; and if you do it not, then you have not delivered His message, and Allāh will protect you from the people; surely Allāh will not guide the unbelieving people.' For that reason, he ordered Bilāl to declare that people must gather in Ghadīr Khumm the next day. Hence, he said, 'People: My Lord has ordered me to convey His Message to you but I feared since I anticipated that you would belie me. Therefore, He blamed me and threatened a punishment frequently.' He then took `Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib from the hand and raised it so upwardly that their armpits were seen and then declared, 'People: Allāh is my Master and I am your master. Whoever has regarded me as his master must now regard `Alī as his master. O Allāh! Be the supporter of him who will support `Alī and be the enemy of him who will oppose `Alī and give victory to him who will support `Alī and disappoint him who will disappoint `Alī.' soon after that, Almighty Allāh revealed, 'This day have I perfected your religion for you and completed My favor on you... etc.'

THE AHL AL-BAYT'S OPINION

In al-`Ayyāshī's book of *Tafsīr* 1/331, we read the following:

It has been narrated on the authority of Abū-Ṣāliḥ that Ibn `Abbās and Jābir ibn `Abdullāh said that the Holy Prophet anticipated that people would criticize and revile at him when he would convey his Lord's instructions of nominating `Alī as the next leader. He expected them to accuse him of favoring his cousin. Hence, Almighty Allāh revealed the Verse of `Iṣmah.

In al-Kulaynī's *al-Kāfi* 1/290, we read the following:

It has been narrated on the authority of Muḥammad ibn Yaḥyā on the authority of Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad and Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn on the authority of Muḥammad ibn Ismā`īl ibn Buzay' on the authority of Manṣūr ibn Yūnus on the authority of Abu'l-Jārūd that Abū-Ja`far Imām al-Bāqir (a.s) said, "Almighty Allāh has imposed five precepts upon people, but they carried out four and

neglected one. As they were unaware of the time of offering the ritual prayers, Archangel Gabriel descended to the Holy Prophet and conveyed the Lord's orders of instructing people when to offer the prayers. For the precept of the zakāt, the same thing took place. For the precept of the fasting, on the tenth of Muḥarram, the Holy Prophet instructed the people of the neighboring villages to observe fasting. Later on, Ramaḍān, the month lying between Sha'bān and Shawwāl, was identified for the fasting. Then the rites of the Ḥajj descended; Archangel Gabriel said to the Holy Prophet, 'In the same way as you have taught them how to offer prayers, defray the zakāt and observe the fasting, you should now instruct them how to undertake the Ḥajj.' Finally, the commandment of the allegiance was revealed. The perfection of the religion was achieved through the loyalty to the leadership of 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib. The Holy Prophet then narrated, "When the commandment of the loyalty to 'Alī's leadership was revealed to me, I thought that my people, having been fresh Muslims, would accuse me of favoring my cousin. Forthwith, Almighty Allāh threatened a punishment if I would neglect the conveyance of the matter. He therefore revealed the Verse of 'Iṣmah: 'O Apostle! Deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord; and if you do it not, then you have not delivered His message, and Allāh will protect you from the people; surely Allāh will not guide the unbelieving people.' Immediately, the Holy Prophet took 'Alī (a.s) from the hand and declared, 'People: Like the other Prophets, I have to respond to my Lord after He has given me this age. You, as well as I, will be interrogated. What will your answer be?' 'We admit that you have conveyed, advised and accomplished your mission. May Allāh satisfy you with the best reward of the Messengers,' acknowledged people. 'O Allāh! Be the witness,' repeated the Holy Prophet thrice, 'Muslims: This man shall be your leader after me. The present must carry this command to the absent.'"

In *Biḥār al-Anwār* 94/300, we read the following:

Muḥammad ibn `Alī al-Ṭarāzī has narrated in his book on the authority of `Abdullāh ibn Ja`far al-Ḥimyarī on the authority of Hārūn ibn Muslim on the authority of al-Ḥasan al-Laythī that, once, Abū-`Abdullāh Ja`far ibn Muḥammad (a.s) said to the groups of the Shi`ah and the adherents of the Ahl al-Bayt who were present before him, 'Do you know the day on which the Lord has constructed Islām, revealed the illumination of the religion and made it -that day- a festivity for our adherents and us?' 'Allāh, His Messenger and the son of the Messenger are the most knowledgeable. Is it the `Īd al-Fitr?' asked they. 'No, it is not,' answered Abū-`Abdullāh (a.s). 'Is it then the `Īd al-Aḍḥā?'¹ asked they. 'No,' answered the Holy Imām, 'However, these are two holy and noble days. The day of the illumination of the religion is holier and nobler. It is the eighteenth of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah. On the noontime of that day when the Holy Prophet arrived in Ghadīr Khumm during his journey back from the Farewell Ḥajj, Archangel Gabriel descended carrying the Lord's instruction of declaring Amīr al-Mu`minīn's succession and leadership. 'On this very day, you must declare that `Alī would be the master of this ummah so that he must be the next leader to whom people should show loyalty. He will represent you,' said Archangel Gabriel. 'Gabriel, my dear!' said the Holy Prophet, 'I fear that my companions will oppose since they have detested `Alī for he killed their people and will unveil their hiddens.' Archangel Gabriel carried the Holy Prophet's words and, immediately, came back with Almighty Allāh's saying, 'O Apostle! Deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord; and if you do it not, then you have not delivered His message, and Allāh will protect you from the people; surely Allāh will not guide the unbelieving people.' Having been apprehensive and

¹ `Īd al-Fitr; the feast of breaking the fast is the festival marking the end of Ramaḍān and falling on the first day of Shawwāl. `Īd al-Aḍḥā; the feast of sacrifice is the festival marking the culmination of the ritual Ḥajj season and falling on the tenth of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah.

distress, the Holy Prophet ordered to sweep the place under these trees while his feet were sore for the heat of the sun. He then ordered Muslims to gather there; so, they, including Abū-Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthmān and the rest of Muhājirūn and Anṣār, approached together before him. He then declared that 'Alī must be accepted as the coming leader since this was Almighty Allāh's commission.

Al-Nu'mān al-Maghribī, in *Da'ā'im al-Islām* 1/14, has recorded the following:

It has been narrated that a man, once, said to Abū-Ja'far Muḥammad ibn 'Alī (Imām al-Bāqir) that al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī said that the Holy Prophet, once, said, 'I became distressed and disturbed when Almighty Allāh ordered me to convey a message. I feared that people would belie me, but the Lord threatened a punishment if I would not do it.' Abū-Ja'far (a.s) asked the man whether al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī had told them about that message. The man answered negatively. 'By Allāh I swear,' said the Imām, 'al-Ḥasan al-Baṣrī knew that message completely, but he concealed it deliberately.' 'Son of Allāh's Messenger,' asked the man, 'May Allāh make my soul your ransom. What was that message?' Abū-Ja'far (a.s) said, 'The believers did not know how to offer the prayers that were imposed upon them in Almighty Allāh's Book; therefore, He directed His Messenger to explain it for them, and the Holy Prophet did utterly. Similarly, He ordered to defray the zakāt, but they did not know what is that; therefore, the Holy Prophet explained it to them saying that gold, silver, camels, cows, sheep and the yields are the things applicable to the zakāt. thus, he left nothing unexplored. As fasting was imposed upon them, people did not know anything about it; so, the Holy Prophet explained it in details. When the Lord imposed the ritual Ḥajj, Almighty Allāh directed the Holy Prophet to teach them how to undertake it. Almighty Allāh then ordered people to be loyal to the Ahl al-Bayt. In this regard, the Almighty revealed, 'Only Allāh is your master and His Messenger and those who believe, those who keep up prayers and

pay the Zakāt while they bow.’ As He imposed the loyalty to the leadership of the Ahl al-Bayt, people did not know the sort of that loyalty. Like the prayer, Zakāt, fasting and Hajj, Almighty Allāh ordered His Messenger to explain the meaning of the loyalty to the Ahl al-Bayt’s leadership. This order disturbed the Holy Prophet since he anticipated that people would apostatize from the religion and belie him. Hence, he sought the Lord’s relief and, immediately, Almighty Allāh revealed, ‘O Apostle! Deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord; and if you do it not, then you have not delivered His message, and Allāh will protect you from the people; surely Allāh will not guide the unbelieving people.’ After that, he, having been in Ghadīr Khumm, declared the obligatory loyalty to the leadership of ‘Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib (a.s) flawlessly and ordered the present to carry it to the absent. As the divine precepts were revealed gradually, the obligatory loyalty to the leadership of ‘Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib was the sealing. For this reason, Almighty Allāh revealed, ‘This day have I perfected for you your religion and completed My favor on you and chosen for you Islām as a religion.’ This means that the Lord would not reveal any more precept since He has completed them.

It has been narrated that the Holy Prophet said, ‘I enjoin those who believed in Allāh and believed and gave credence to me to adhere to the leadership of ‘Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib since the loyalty to him is as same as the loyalty to me. This is a binding instruction that I have received from my Lord Who directed me to carry it to you.’

The first narration has been also recorded in al-Nu‘mān al-Maghribī: *Sharḥ al-Akḥbār* 1/101. A similar narration has been recorded in the same book 2/276 in the following form:

The Holy Prophet said, ‘Gabriel: My people are fresh Muslims. They have just left Jāhiliyah. I fear that they would return to it.’ Immediately, Almighty Allāh revealed, ‘O Apostle! Deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord; and if you do it not, then you have

not delivered His message, and Allāh will protect you from the people; surely Allāh will not guide the unbelieving people.' Hence, the Holy Prophet gathered people in Ghadīr Khumm and said, 'People: I became disturbed for the Lord has ordered me to convey a message to you. But He threatened a punishment if I would shun. You have known that Almighty Allāh is my Master and that I am the master and the leader of Muslims and that I should be preceded to their souls, have you not?' 'Yes, we have,' admitted people. The Holy Prophet thus took 'Alī from the hand and raised him saying, 'Whoever has regarded me as his master must now regard 'Alī as his master, and whoever has regarded me as his leader must now regard 'Alī as his leader. O Allāh! Be the supporter of him who will support 'Alī and be the enemy of him who will oppose 'Alī and give victory to him who will support 'Alī and disappoint him who will disappoint 'Alī and make the right follow 'Alī wherever he goes.' As a result, the loyalty to 'Alī (a.s) has been incumbent upon each male and female Muslim.'

More narrations will be cited in the coming discussion of the Verse of Ikmāl al-Dīn (the perfection of the religion). Shiite reference books of Ḥadīth are full of such authenticated narration.

GENERAL REMARKS REGARDING THE OTHER OPINIONS

First Remark

Except al-Tirmidhī who has recorded the narration of the guard practiced on the Holy Prophet and decided it as a one-way strange report, none of the Sunni Ḥadīthists have referred to the exegesis of Verse of 'Iṣmah. Yet, al-Bukhārī has mentioned the Verse in two independent titles—the first is in 5/88 where he has recorded 'Ā'ishah's report about the necessity of conveying and not concealing the revelation and the second is in 8/9 where

¹ A similar narration has been recorded in al-Ayyāshī's book of *Tafsīr* 1/333.

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he has recorded al-Zuhri's report about the Holy Prophet's conveyance. In addition, he has recorded two other reports respecting the Verse of 'Iṣmah—6/50 and 8/210. In 1/110, Muslim has recorded a report about the Verse.

As a matter of fact, such negligence does not prove or indicate the inauthenticity or the dubiety of the report. Numerous are the authentic reports that have not been recorded in the reference books of Ḥadīth and more are the inauthentic reports that are found in such reliable books. The important point is that the compilers of these books of Ḥadīth have exerted all possible efforts for refuting the Ahl al-Bayt while they have known for sure that the Verse of 'Iṣmah represents a proof on the right of the Ahl al-Bayt. They would have repeatedly narrated and recorded any report that might refute the Ahl al-Bayt if only they had any.

It is thus obvious that they have had to avoid refuting the narrations of the Shī'ah and the agreeing Sunni ones. As a result, we cannot find such narrations in the six reliable Sunni reference books of Ḥadīth.

Second Remark

Except the time of the Farewell Ḥajj when Sūrah of al-Mā'idah was revealed, the twenty-three years of the Holy Prophet's mission have been entirely mentioned in the various Sunni narrations about the Verse of 'Iṣmah while, if truth be told, the Verse was revealed during the excluded period. This fact incites us to conclude that the purpose beyond the expansion of the narrations and the exclusion of that period has been to close the eyes before the very period in which the Verse was revealed.

Third Remark

For Shiite reference books of Ḥadīth, all the reports that refer to the revelation of the Verse of 'Iṣmah bring up assuredly the same reason and date. On the other hand, Sunni reference books of Ḥadīth assume various reasons in contrary times that caused their scholars to be engaged in perplexity regarding the true

reason and time. Moreover, some of such contrary narrations support the Ahl al-Bayt's narration that is not accepted by the Qurayshite caliphs and their fans. As a rule, when all Muslims, including the Ahl al-Bayt, identify a certain reason and time for the revelation of a Verse while others refer to miscellaneous reasons and times, it will be surely understandable that the reason unanimously admitted should be accepted.

EVALUATION OF THE OPPOSING OPINIONS ON THE LIGHT OF THE VERSE

(1) The Matter to be Delivered

The meaning of the Verse is still ambiguous unless the verb 'reveal' refers to a past incident because it is in the past tense. The past tense of the verb shows that the Holy Prophet already received a difficult commandment that he should deliver but he was looking for a way to convey. Hence, the Verse was revealed to stop the Holy Prophet's anticipations and order him to deliver as soon as possible whether people would admit or not, and relieve him that they would not apostatize from the religion and that he would be protected against them. This is the interpretation of the Ahl al-Bayt supported by many Sunni reports.

(2) Confirmation of The Case and Its Conditions

It is meaningless to say to somebody that he must convey the messages that you will give to him, lest he will not convey them! If there is a definite message to deliver, it will be quite true to say to that somebody that you will not regard him as conveyor of your previous messages that he had already carried if he will not carry this important message.

From *Tafsir al-Mizān* 6/49, the following is quoted:

Although the statement of the Verse reveals threat, it insinuates the importance of the command; if the message would be neglected and would not be carried to people, the other parts of the religion would be as if it had not been conveyed. The phrase, 'If you do it not, then you

have not delivered his message,' is a conditional clause demonstrating the importance of the condition since the most important reward relies upon it completely. It is not an ordinary conditional clause that is usually used for specifying the result of an unknown matter. For Almighty Allāh, this is inapplicable since He knows the results. The Holy Qur`ān does not have probabilities whether the Holy Prophet will convey or not.

(3) *The Holy Prophet's Fear*

The Holy Prophet anticipated that the divine message would be in danger. He was too brave to fear assassination or injury because he was pious, courageous and sinless. Since the first days of the Mission, the Holy Prophet knew the difficulty of his mission; therefore, he expected dangers and difficulties. Accordingly, it is illogic to say that he had hesitated or refrained from conveying the Mission before he was threatened. He feared that people might retract or object to the leadership of his household considering the decision as personal.

(4) *The Interpretation of 'People'*

Al-Fakhr al-Rāzi, in his book of *Tafsir* 6/12/50, records the following:

Because the Verse (of `Ismah) ends with 'surely Allāh will not guide the unbelieving people' we understand that 'people' refers to the unbelieving ones exclusively.

This opinion is unacceptable; the word 'people' cannot be limited to definite ones because the Verse shows that the Lord will protect His Messenger against all people. Many indications can be inferred from the relationship between 'people' and 'the unbelieving ones.' The meaning might be that Allāh will protect you against the whole people and will not guide those who intend to hurt you since they are unbelievers. It also might be that deliver the message and Allāh will protect you against people, and the rejecters who are decided as unbelievers will not be guided by Allāh.

The latter indication is more preferable since it is supported by a Ḥadīth recorded in al-Bukhārī's *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 8/139:

It has been narrated on the authority of Abū-Hurayrah that the Holy Prophet said, 'My people will be in Paradise saving the rejecters.' 'Who are the rejecters?' asked people. "Whoever obeys me will be in Paradise and whoever disobeys will be with the rejecters," explained the Holy Prophet.

The comprehensive and logical meaning of 'people' fits the source of injury and danger, which was not dedicated to the unbelievers only. The Holy Prophet was also antagonized by the hypocrites who lived among people. We have already shown that the source of danger intended by the Verse of `Iṣmah was, to great extent, the hypocrites. Al-Rāzī, however, has aimed at taking the censure away from the Qurayshite hypocrites and taking the divine commandment away from the leadership of Imām `Alī.

(5) The Meaning of Protection Against People

The promised protection intended in the Verse of `Iṣmah should suit the amount of danger that the Holy Prophet expected. It should agree with the protection against people's suspecting the prophethood and accusing him of favoring and nominating his household for leadership. One of the most famed sayings that people of Quraysh used to utter was that Muḥammad (a.s) intended to give both prophethood and leadership to the Hāshimites exclusively so as to take the other clans of Quraysh away as if prophethood and leadership are under his control that he may give to whomever he wills.

This is the very meaning that suits the amount of danger expected by the Holy Prophet who, constantly, was thinking of the anticipated actions that might occur when he would declare the leadership of Imām `Alī (a.s). Unlike the other opinions, the protection intended in the Verse does not stand for protecting the Holy Prophet against being assassinated, hurt or injured; rather it guarantees to save the prophethood against people of

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Quraysh. This fact can be proven by the fact that the Holy Prophet's guard was not changed after that event. Likewise, the danger and harm were not changed, but increased!

In abstract, the protection mentioned in the Verse stands for saving the Holy Prophet's mission from his people who could rarely accept the matter and they thus decided to mutiny. Yet, Almighty Allāh fulfilled His promise; on that day in Ghadīr Khumm, the Holy Prophet nominated Imām `Alī for the leadership and asked people to offer him congratulations and people did peacefully. Nevertheless, as soon as he departed this world, they took the Ahl al-Bayt away from the leadership, set his house on fire and forced him to pay homage to their man.

TWO QUESTIONS INVOLVING THE VERSE

(1) Using the Verse as Weapon Against Imām `Alī

Muslims have testified that the Holy Prophet conveyed what he had received from his Lord perfectly and he suffered what no other Prophet had ever suffered; yet, Sunnis accuse Shiites of claiming that he had concealed certain matters citing the Verse of `Ismah as example. We, the Shi`ah, denounce such an accusation thoroughly!

Al-Qurtubī, in his book of *Tafsīr* 6/243, records the following:

Whoever claims that the Holy Prophet had concealed any revealed issue has belied the Lord Who says, 'O Apostle! Deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord; and if you do it not, then you have not delivered His message, and Allāh will protect you from the people.' May Allāh condemn the Rafidites for they claim that the Holy Prophet concealed matters that people required.

Al-Qastalānī, in *Irshād al-Sārī* 7/106, says the following:

The Shi`ah claim that the Holy Prophet concealed some of the revealed issues for he feared injury.

It seems that the source of this accusation is `Ā`ishah's famous saying, 'Whoever claims that the Holy Prophet concealed anything of the Lord's Book has forged big lies against Allāh.' They have recorded this saying repeatedly so as to belie Imām `Alī (a.s) who confirmed that he had been the Holy Prophet's successor and that he had with him the Holy Prophet's Ḥadīth and heritage other than the Holy Qur`ān. He possessed a comprehensive book that comprised everything that people would require including the amount of the compensation for a violated retaliation of a scratch! He also confirmed that the Holy Prophet had foretold him about the future misfortunes that the Ahl al-Bayt would face including the attack on his house; so he instructed him what to do then.

We, the Shī`ah, believe in the previous claims. Sunni and our reference books of Ḥadīth have included tens of reports carrying the unique standing of Imām `Alī and the special care that the Holy Prophet used to give him exclusively so as to bring him up, according to a divine commission, to inherit his knowledge. We also believe that Imām `Alī is too pure, divinely purified and honest to say anything but the truth. Al-Suyūṭī, in *al-Durr al-Manthūr* 6/260, has recorded the following:

Ibn Jarīr, Ibn Abī-Ḥātam, al-Wāḥidī, Ibn Mardawayh, Ibn `Asākir, ibn al-Najjārī have narrated on the authority of Ibn Buraydah that the Holy Prophet said to `Alī, 'Verily, Almighty Allāh has ordered me to favor you and avoid keeping you away from me and to teach you so that you will perceive; and you will perceive.' For these words, the Verse, 'And a retaining ear will retain it,' was revealed.

Abū-Na`īm, in *Ḥilyat al-Awliyā`*, has recorded this narration in which the Holy Prophet said to `Alī, 'You are the retaining ear that perceives my knowledge.'

Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamān, one of Imām `Alī's followers, was the keeper of the Holy Prophet's secret about distinguishing the hypocrites from the believers, whereas Imām `Alī was the keeper of all the secrets and knowledge of the Holy Prophet. All narrators have recorded that the Holy Prophet foretold

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Imām `Alī that he would fight against the breachers, the unjust and the apostates for sake of the interpretation of the Holy Qur`ān.

It seems that some of the Holy Prophet's instructions to Imām `Alī were known for people; therefore they have the courage to attack his house and force him to accept the new leader. While Imām `Alī was so mighty and courageous that all people feared him, most of those who attacked his house were too coward to face his sword—Dhu'l-Faqār. Thus, they were sure that he would not unsheathe his sword and would follow the Holy Prophet's instruction even if Fāṭimah al-Zahrā` would be beaten so harshly that she would abort her baby. In due course, the pro-Qurayshite mercenaries and their masters rejected Imām `Alī's claim of receiving the Holy Prophet's heritage and knowledge and denied that he had left anything for his family including knowledge, gifts or properties. On that account, Abū-Bakr confiscated Fadak, a garden that the Holy Prophet had endowed to Fāṭimah al-Zahrā` (a.s) when Almighty Allāh revealed, 'And give the near of kin his due.' The ruling authorities, taking advantage of `Ā'ishah's forecited saying, exceeded the limits when they claimed that anyone who would claim that the Holy Prophet had instructed him/her in private is surely disbeliever!

Read the following as quoted from al-Bukhārī's *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 1/188:

It has been narrated that `Ā'ishah said, 'Whoever claims that the Holy Prophet concealed anything of what was revealed to him has certainly lied. Allāh says, 'O Apostle! Deliver what has been revealed to you...etc.'¹

At any rate, such wicked plot has included two flaws regarding the expansion of the indication to the matter to be conveyed and the parties of the conveyance as well as a misrepresentation of Imām `Alī and his adherents' claims. First of all, It is untrue

¹ The same report has been repeated in al-Bukhārī's 6/50 and 8/210, Muslim's 1/10 and al-Tirmidhī's 4/328... etc.

that the Holy Prophet was ordered to convey anything that he would receive from the Lord. His knowledge received through revelation, inspiration and personal views is too comprehensive to be carried to people since they, including the believing ones, are too incompetent to receive it. Secondly, some instructions were addressed to certain individuals; hence, the Holy Prophet did not publicize them. In this regard, Almighty Allāh says, 'And speak to them privately effectual words.'

Neither Imām 'Alī nor has any of his followers claimed that the Holy Prophet had not conveyed the Message perfectly; rather they say that he (a.s) took people's mentalities and intellectual capacities in consideration during the conveyance of the Message. Imām 'Alī was thus so receptive that the Holy Prophet conferred him with additional knowledge. Unlike the opinions of al-Qurtubī and al-Qastalānī, this concept proves that Imām 'Alī, Fātimah al-Zahrā', al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn (a.s) were more intelligent; therefore, they received more divine knowledge. Furthermore, Imām 'Alī and his Shi'ah have confirmed that the Holy Prophet had conveyed many things about the Ahl al-Bayt and other topics that the Qurayshite caliphs and their fans have concealed.

The pro-Qurayshite mercenaries used to wrong and forge lies against Imām 'Alī. In the same time, they overlook 'Umar's claim that the Holy Prophet had not interpreted many Qur'ānic texts, such as those regarding Kalālah and usury.¹ This is a clear accusation that the Holy Prophet had not explained the Holy Qur'ān adequately.

In abstract, the fact that the Holy Prophet gave special knowledge to Imām 'Alī does not oppose his carrying out the Lord's instructions perfectly because it was Almighty Allāh Who, through the Divine Revelation, ordered him to give Imām 'Alī such knowledge exclusively. In like manner, it does not stand against Taqiyyah that the Holy Prophet practiced against

¹ Later on, more light will be focused on these topics.

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definite men of Quraysh and other tribes because he was ordered to use wisdom, Taqiyyah and indulgence in order to accomplish the goals of Islām.

The following narration is quoted from *al-Kāfi* 2/117:

It has been narrated on the authority of Imām Ja'far al-Sādiq that the Holy Prophet said, 'My Lord has ordered me to be indulgent with people in the same way as He has ordered me to perform the divine precepts.'

In *Majma' al-Zawā'id* 8/17, we read the following:

It has been narrated on the authority of Abū-Hurayrah that the Holy Prophet said, 'Preceded by the belief in Almighty Allāh, the acme of rationality is the willingness to please people.'

It has been narrated that Buraydah said, "While I was present before the Holy Prophet, a man from Quraysh came. The Holy Prophet welcomed him warmly. When the man left, the Holy Prophet asked, 'Do you know this man?' 'Yes, I do,' answered I, 'He is the best of Quraysh in lineage and wealth. This is my opinion, what about your opinion?' 'He will be worthless on the Judgment Day,' said the Holy Prophet."

Al-Bukhārī has given more than one title to the question of the willingness to please people. In 7/102, he records:

It has been narrated on the authority of Abu'l-Dardā' that he said, 'Although we smile in the faces of some people, our hearts curse them.'

It has been narrated on the authority of 'Urwah ibn al-Zubayr on the authority of 'Ā'ishah that the Holy Prophet, once, said about a man who had sought permission to visit him, 'Let him in. He is indeed the worst of his people.' He then received him with nice words and smiling face. When the man left, I asked the Holy Prophet to explain it to me, and he said, 'Listen,

'Ā`ishah! Verily, the most evil people are those whom are received nicely so as to avoid their evil.'

(2) Using the Verse to Refute the Claim that the Holy Prophet was Bewitched

Sunni and Shiite scholars have cited the Verse of `Iṣmah as evidence refuting the claim that the Holy Prophet was bewitched. According to some narrations, a Jew could take the Holy Prophet's comb and some of his hairs and buried them in a well after he had spelled bewitchery on them. This bewitchery influenced the Holy Prophet so heavily that he imagined doing some acts until a man or an angel or Archangel Gabriel led him to that well. He destroyed it after he had been cured. This false accusation has been related to 'Ā`ishah. Al-Bukhārī, in *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 4/68, 7/28-9 and 164 and Muslim, in *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 7/14 as well as many other reference books of Ḥadīth have recorded such reports.

All Shiite scholars, as well as a few Sunni ones, have had the courage to refute this accusation citing the Verse of `Iṣmah as one of their evidences.

Al-Ṭūsī, in *Tafsīr al-Tibyān* 1/384, has recorded the following:

The reports narrating the fable that the Holy Prophet was bewitched are inconsiderate and baseless. He has been too elevated to be bewitched, which is a quality of imperfection making one distrust any instruction said by such a bewitched man. The Holy Prophet is the Lord's argument against people and His choice among His servants and the selected out of Almighty Allāh's wisdom. He has been saved from vulgarity and harshness as well as any ill behavior. Except those who discount the Holy Prophet's real qualities, none can dare to ascribe such tainted things to him. Almighty Allāh says, 'And Allāh will protect you against people.' He has also belied those who said, 'You are following but a bewitched man.'

Ibn Idrīs al-`Ujalī, in *al-Sarā`ir* 3/534, records the following:

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Unanimously, we believe that the Holy Prophet was never bewitched. Our proof is Almighty Allāh's saying, 'And Allāh will protect you against people.' Some of the opposite sects believe that he was bewitched. This is indeed contrary to the Glorified Revelation.

We read the following in al-Majlisī's *Biḥār al-Anwār* 60/38:

Had it been true that the Prophets could be bewitched, the sorcerers would have injured all the Prophets. This is indeed contrary to Almighty Allāh's saying, 'And Allāh will protect you from the people,' 'And a magician will not be successful wheresoever he may come from.' At length, the atheists who are definitely liars used to accuse the Holy Prophet of being bewitched.

Al-Nawawī is one of the Sunni scholars who refuted the accusation. In al-Majmū' 19/243, he writes down:

Reports narrating that the Holy Prophet was bewitched should be refuted because they support the atheists' accusing him of bewitchment. It is also contrary to the Qur'ānic texts that belied them.

Al-Rāzī has narrated that al-Qāḍī (the judge) said that such narrations are false and must not be accepted since Almighty Allāh says, 'And Allāh will protect you from the people,' 'And a magician will not be successful wheresoever he may come from.' To believe such narrations means to doubt the Prophethood. Had that been right, all the Prophets and pious people should have been influenced by bewitchery.

Al-Rāzī, in his book of *Tafsīr* 16/32/187, records the following:

Majority of Muslims have claimed that the Holy Prophet was bewitched by a Jew. Be it known to you that the Mu'tazilite have refuted this claim, which opposes Almighty Allāh's saying, 'And Allāh will protect you from the people.'

A few Sunni scholars have adopted such opinions while the majority admit such fabrications because they have not been accustomed to refute anything said by 'Ā'ishah and al-Bukhārī be it true or false. Likewise, they have never permitted anyone to criticize such reports; therefore, they have been engaged in tens of problems regarding monotheism, prophethood, Shafā'ah (the intercession), the first revelation and Waraqah ibn Nawfal, the 'Handsome Pagans' that Sulaymān Rushdī betook as a principle for his *Satanic Verses*, the bewitchment as well as many others.

The accusation is contrary to the prophethood of the Holy Prophet and, according to many Verses, it was originated by the atheists. However, to cite the Verse of 'Iṣmah as the refutation of the accusation is baseless, since it can be claimed that the Verse was revealed in the last days of the Holy Prophet while the occurrence took place a long time before that.

To sum it up, Shiite scholars have decided that the protection intended in the Verse of 'Iṣmah indicates guarding the Holy Prophet against the apostasy of the Qurayshite people and Muslims during his lifetime. Sunni scholars have talked too much about the Verse, yet not as accurate as possible, as they thought that it indicated protecting the Holy Prophet against assassination, poisoning, injury or harm. In due course, they have thought that the Verse is contrary to the reports relating that his decease was because of a piece of a poisoned meat that a Jewess had served to him; yet Archangel Gabriel was too late in informing him about that. Hence, a drop of that poison was the reason beyond his decease the next year.

In al-Shifā 1/317, 'Ayyād says:

If one asks how it is possible to accept the narration reporting that the Holy Prophet was poisoned by a Jewess and Almighty Allāh saying, 'And Allāh will protect you from the people,' we answer that the Verse was revealed in the year of the Battle of Tabūk while the poisoning occurred in Khaybar before that date.

Likewise, Sunni scholars could not find an answer to the confusion that the Holy Prophet, according to many narrations, wished to die as martyr while he knew that Almighty Allāh had protected him against killing.

In Ibn Ḥajar's *Fatḥ al-Bārī Fi Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī* 8/2644, we read the following:

It has been narrated on the authority of Abū-Hurayrah that he heard the Holy Prophet saying, 'I swear by Him Who prevails on my soul that I wish I were killed for sake of Allāh.'

Some scholars have doubted such Ḥadīth because they deemed the Holy Prophet far above wishing for martyrdom while he knew for sure that he was protected against being killed. Ibn al-Tīn answered that the statement might have been said before the revelation of the Verse of protection (ʿIṣmah) yet, this answer is inaccurate because the Verse was revealed during the Holy Prophet's early residence in al-Madīnah while Abū-Hurayrah, the direct reporter of the statement, arrived there on the first days of the seventh year in al-Madīnah. On the other hand, to wish for something does not necessarily require the probability of its occurrence. For instance, it has been narrated that the Holy Prophet, once, said, 'I wish that (Prophet) Moses had been patient... etc.' The Holy Prophet might have aimed for urging Muslims to practice jihād. This opinion, however, is the most acceptable. Our master scholar, Ibn al-Mulaqqin, has claimed that Abū-Hurayrah might have added 'I wish' to the statement of the Holy Prophet. This opinion seems to be unsatisfactory.¹

Supporting the previous Ḥadīth has been true, the Holy Prophet's wish can be real, because the Verse of ʿIṣmah has guaranteed that people would not apostatize from the religion

¹ A similar discussion has been recorded in Badr al-Dīn al-'Aynī: *ʿUmdat al-Qārī* 14/95.

during his lifetime. Thus, it has nothing to do with assassination, injury or harm. On the contrary, Almighty Allāh says, 'And Muḥammad is no more than an apostle; the apostles have already passed away before him. If he then dies or is killed, will you turn back upon your heels.' This Verse indicates that he would not die normally. The Lord identifies natural death and assassination as the two sorts that the Holy Prophet would counter. The only interpretation of Almighty Allāh's having confused the sort of His Messenger's death is that He has known that the Holy Prophet would be killed or the like.

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The Qurayshites During the Farewell Hajj

We have noticed that the Holy Prophet, through his sermons, words and even behaviors in the Farewell Hajj, emphasized on the present and future roles of the Ahl al-Bayt foretelling the coming of Twelve Imāms who would represent, along with the Holy Qur'ān, the most precious thing for the ummah. In other words, he confirmed the obligatory compliance with the Holy Imāms in all aspects of life. For instance, the Holy Imāms are forbidden from receiving alms and, in the meanwhile, they should have the Khums. However, people of Quraysh could not stand the Holy Prophet's sermons, words and activities that identified the preference of Imām 'Alī, Fāṭimah al-Zahrā', al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn. They understood the situation as if it had been nominating the Hāshimites as the leaders of the ummah and depriving the other clans of such position since they must keep on acting as released slaves of the Hāshimites.

As expected, Sunni reference books of Ḥadīth have neglected the Qurayshite chiefs' reaction towards the Holy Prophet's sermons that disturbed people of Quraysh whose chiefs; such as Suhayl ibn 'Amr, 'Ikrimah ibn Abī-Jahl, Ṣafwān ibn Umayyah ibn Khalaf, Ḥakīm ibn Ḥizām, Ṣuhayb ibn Sinān, Abu'l-A'war al-Salamī and the others, were gloomy-faced while they saw the Holy Prophet paving the way to the Hāshimites' leadership.

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Immediately, they acted actively to contact Muhājirūn, not the Hāshimites, to find a suitable treatment for such impending catastrophe!

On the other hand, Shiite reference books of Ḥadīth have mentioned that such activities began during the conquest of Makkah and expanded during the Farewell Ḥajj to attain climax in Minā on the days of Tashriq. The outcome of the activities was the conclusion of a treaty that the Shī'ah call the 'Accursed Document' in which they agreed upon depriving the Hāshimites of joining the leadership to the prophethood. A few members of that treaty arrived slyly in Makkah and hanged the second Accursed Document next to the first one inside the Holy Ka'bah. Unlike the first treaty due to which the Hāshimites were besieged in the col and was signed in the names of Lāt and 'Uzzā—the pagans, the new document proposed a political plan to deprive them of the leadership after the Holy Prophet, but this time, it was signed in the name of Islām. However, Almighty Allāh informed His Messenger about the details of that document and when he exposed them before the parties of that wicked treaty, they could hardly control themselves before him. Like the other Prophets, the Holy Prophet's mission was no more than constituting Almighty Allāh's arguments against people and then they are free to do anything they like.

If we believe what Sunni reference book of Ḥadīth have mentioned about the noise that was arisen, yet intentionally, whenever the Holy Prophet, during the sermon of 'Arafāt, tried to mention the identity of the Twelve Imāms, it must have been one of the programmed activities against the Hāshimites and that the Holy Prophet must have reproached and informed them that he had known the purpose behind such activities.

Results of the Farewell Ḥajj

For people of Quraysh, the Farewell Ḥajj passed peacefully since the Holy Prophet did not take any practical step in the course of nominating the new leader although he spoke very much about the Hāshimites, his progeny, his offspring, Fāṭimah,

the Twelve Imāms and many issues concerning the Ahl al-Bayt. Furthermore, he did not demand with paying homage to `Alī—the first Imām of his household.

For the Holy Prophet, he believed that he had conveyed his Lord's message to the utmost degree. Meanwhile, people of Quraysh could no longer tolerate the situation or stand any further instructions. If he demanded with paying homage to `Alī, they would distrust and accuse him of establishing a monarchy similar to that of the Romans or the Persians. Had this occurred, people of Quraysh might have lead a mutiny in which all the Arabs would participate so as to preclude the kingdom of the Hāshimites beginning with `Alī and never ending!

Reference books of Ḥadīth have actually recorded such statements that were said by Qurayshite chiefs who, as if they had never accepted Islām, understood the question as an endless kingship of Muḥammad and his family.

The Holy Prophet Under Pressure

During the Farewell Ḥajj and its momentous circumstances, Archangel Gabriel was carrying the Lord's commands to the Holy Prophet. Probably, he accompanied him throughout the Ḥajj season and revealed to him many instructions including the words of the sermons. In al-Madīnah, the angel said to the Holy Prophet, 'Muḥammad: Almighty Allāh greets you and informs that your departure will be imminent and very soon, you will come to Him. He therefore orders you to explain the rulings of the ritual Ḥajj in the same way as you have explained the rulings of the prayer, zakāt and fasting.' Carrying out the commandment, the Holy Prophet explained the rulings and acts of the Ḥajj emphasizing on the principles of Islām and the unique standings of the Ahl al-Bayt.

On the final days of the Ḥajj, Archangel Gabriel descended to say, 'Almighty Allāh orders you to lead your nation to their leader. Declare your will, convey to him your knowledge and the Prophets' heritage and nominate him before all people, for I

should not grasp the soul of any of My Prophets before he perfects the religion and should not leave My lands without constituting a claim against the creatures.'

Because of the tense situation of people of Quraysh, the Holy Prophet began to think of an appropriate way of declaration saying to himself, 'My people have just left the customs and tradition of Jāhiliyah. If I now declare that my cousin must be my successor, they will misthink the matter.' Hence, he decided to carry out that divine commandment as soon as he would be back in al-Madīnah where he would prepare for it and seek Anṣār's support.

The Divine Revelation Stops the Caravan

Having the intention to carry out the divine commandment, the Holy Prophet left Makkah. On the third day of the journey and five hours after sunrise, he reached Kurā' al-Ghamīm, a place situated between Makkah and al-Madīnah and eight miles away from 'Asfān, where Archangel Gabriel conveyed to him saying, 'Muḥammad: Almighty Allāh greets you and says: O Apostle! Deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord; and if you do it not, then you have not delivered His message, and Allāh will protect you from the people; surely Allāh will not guide the unbelieving people.'

The Holy Prophet submitted to the Lord, stood as if pinned to the ground and ordered Muslims whose first rows were about to arrive in al-Juḥafah, a village about two miles away from Kurā' al-Ghamīm, to stop. He wanted to carry out that serious divine commandment in the very place where it had been revealed to him. 'Release my camel,' he ordered, 'By Allāh I swear that I will not leave this place before I convey my Lord's message.' He also ordered Muslims to be there. He then rode off. Archangel Gabriel, having been next to him, watched contentedly the Holy Prophet's trembling limbs out of fearing of Allāh and teary eyes saying, 'Has it reached to threat? I will surely carry out Allāh's order. If they accuse and belie me, this

will be less arduous than countering the distressing punishment in this world and the Hereafter.'

Before he left him, the angel had pointed to a small area of trees to the right. The Holy Prophet left the angel and directed towards Ghadir Khumm. Some of those who witnessed the incident narrated, 'We heard the Holy Prophet calling us and we, owing to the extremely hot weather, hastened. We saw him putting a part of his cloak on the head.'

A collective prayer was declared in other than its due time. It was in fact the time to carry on another obligatory precept, which is paying homage to the Holy Prophet's Immaculate Progeny. Whatever the reaction would be, this precept must be conveyed to Muslims. The Lord has emphasized on the conveyance declaring that was not a personal question that the Conveyor has the choice to do or not and that the Lord would protect against any mischievous response. Hence, the Holy Prophet should carry out the orders.

On that extremely hot day, the Holy Prophet ordered to sweep the place under these trees where the sermon of the divine leadership would be delivered. He also ordered to establish an elevated place so that his eyes would cover all Muslims. Carrying out the orders, they placed saddles of camels on each other so as to make a minbarlike thing. Muslims approached the spring -Ghadir-, drank from its water, served their animals and performed the ritual ablution. Before offering the prayer, they had surrounded the Holy Prophet to listen to what he would say. Because the place was too narrow to cover them all, many of them had to sit in the sun or in the shadow of their animals. Everybody realized that something that would be declared in the sermon had happened; something had been revealed so urgently that the Holy Prophet could not wait two more miles!

According to the reports, the total number of Muslims who participated in the Farewell Hajj with the Holy Prophet was about 120,000. After the Hajj, many of them must have left. Nevertheless, thousands of them took the same way that the

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Holy Prophet took since they lived in al-Madinah and the neighboring villages. Approximately, they were 10,000.

Documenting people of Quraysh's efforts to cover up the incident of Ghadīr Khumm, Imām al-Ṣādiq says, 'How strange misfortunes `Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib had to face! He had ten thousand witnesses; yet he could not save his right! People usually save their rights by two witnesses only.'¹

Muslims did not have to wait too long; they saw the Holy Prophet ascending the minbarlike stone and beginning with the Name of Allāh. He modulated an honorable poesy about the glorification and praising of Almighty Allāh. Subsequently, he apologized to the attendants for driving them to halt in such a poor place and for asking them to listen to him in such an intolerable weather. He notified that Archangel Gabriel had come to him in al-Khayf Masjid to carry the Lord's commandment of nominating `Alī as their new divinely commissioned leader.

He said, "When the commandment of the loyalty to `Alī's leadership was revealed to me, I thought that my people, having been fresh Muslims, would accuse me of favoring my cousin. Forthwith, Almighty Allāh threatened a punishment if I would neglect the conveyance of the matter. He therefore revealed 'O Apostle! Deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord; and if you do it not, then you have not delivered His message, and Allāh will protect you from the people; surely Allāh will not guide the unbelieving people.' There is no god but He Whose timing is unexpected and injustice is unavailing. I acknowledge my slavery to Him, testify His godhead and convey what He has revealed to me, lest an unavoidable catastrophe will strike me and none will save me. People: I am close on responding the invitation of my Lord. What will you say?"

¹ Al-Hurr al-`Āmilī: *Wasā'il al-Shī'ah* 18/174.

“We all acknowledge that you have perfectly conveyed and advised,” said people.

“Do you acknowledge that there is no god but Allāh, Muḥammad being His Messenger, Paradise is true, Hellfire is true and the Resurrection is true?” asked the Holy Prophet.

“Yes, we do,” confessed they.

Pointing to his chest, he said, “So do I.” He then added, “I will precede you and you will join me on the Divine Pool the width of which is as expansive as the distance from Ṣan`ā` (Yemen) to Buṣrā (Syria) and its cups are as many as stars and its water is whiter than silver. Think how you will regard me in the two weighty things.”

“What are the two weighty things?” asked a man.

He answered, “The major weighty thing is Allāh’s Book one of whose edges is in the Lord’s hand while the other is in yours. If you keep it, you will neither slip nor go astray. The minor weighty thing is my progeny—my household. I adjure you by Allāh not to disregard my household. I adjure you by Allāh not to disregard my household. I adjure you by Allāh not to disregard my household. These weighty things will never separate each other until they join me on the Divine Pool. I have implored to my Lord to keep this bond. Precede them not, lest you will be perished. Shun them not, lest you will go astray. Teach them not for they are always more knowledgeable than you are. People: Do you know that Almighty Allāh is my Master and I am the master of the believers and I am preceded to yourselves?”

“Yes, we do,” declared people.

The Holy Prophet then asked `Alī to stand up to his right. He then raised his hand so highly that the armpits of both were seen. He declared, “Whoever has regarded me as his master must now regard `Alī as his master. O Allāh! Be the supporter of him who will support `Alī and be the enemy of him who will

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oppose `Alī and give victory to him who will support `Alī and disappoint him who will disappoint `Alī and turn the right to `Alī whenever he turns. People: Be it known to you that Almighty Allāh has nominated `Alī as your leader making the obedience to him obligatory upon Muhājirūn, Anṣār, their followers, Bedouins, urban, non-Arabs, Arabs, masters and slaves—young and old.”

“What is the like of the loyalty to `Alī?” asked a man.

“To be loyal to him is to be loyal to me,” said the Holy Prophet, “`Alī must be preceded to the souls of those whom I was preceded to their souls.”

Elaborately, the Holy Prophet went on interpreting the ranks of his infallible progeny and the Twelve Imāms saying, “`Alī, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn and nine individuals from his progeny shall be, respectively, with the Qur`ān and the Qur`ān will be with them. They will never leave the Qur`ān and the Qur`ān will never leave them until they will join me on the Divine Pool.”

More than once, he called Muslims to witness that he had conveyed the Lord's messages, and they did, and he demanded them to carry the message to those who could not attend that assembly, and they promised to do it. He then answered the questions of everybody.

As soon as he finished, Archangel Gabriel descended carrying Almighty Allāh's saying, ‘This day have I perfected for you your religion and completed My favor on you and chosen for you Islām as a religion.’ The Holy Prophet thus thanked and praised Almighty Allāh for the perfection of the religion and the completion of the grace and His satisfaction for the conveyance of the next leadership of `Alī. Only then, he left the minbar and ordered to establish a tent in which `Alī would sit to receive all Muslims whom would obligatorily congratulate him for the divinely commissioned leadership. Even the Holy Prophet's women were ordered to congratulate.

'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb was the first to congratulate, 'Congratulations, son of Abū-Ṭālib! You have become my master and the master of every male and female believer.'

Seizing the opportunity, Ḥassān ibn Thābit, the poet, asked the Holy Prophet to permit him to compose some verses on the occasion. Blessed be you! Say your verses,' said the Holy Prophet. Hence, Ḥassān poetized:

*On the day of Ghadīr, their Prophet called them
In Khumm; How great the Prophet's call was!
Saying, Who is your master and leader?
They answered and showed no negligence
Your Lord is our Master and you are our Leader
And none will disobey you in this regard
He said: Stand up 'Alī, for I will appoint you
The Imām and the guide after me
This is the leader of him whose master was I
Hence, be faithful and sincere followers of him
And then he prayed: O Allāh! Support his supporter
And be the enemy of him who will oppose 'Alī'*

The story of Ghadīr reported in Sunni reference books of Ḥadīth is, to great extent, similar to what Shiite books have reported.² For instance, read the following report as quoted from Muslim's *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 7/122:

Yazīd ibn Ḥayyān al-Taymī has narrated that Ḥuşayn ibn Sabarah, Muslim ibn Zayd and I went to Zayd ibn Arqam. After we had sat before him, Ḥuşayn asked, "Zayd, you have really attained great benefaction because you saw the Holy Prophet, listened to his words, participated in his campaigns and followed him in prayers. Now, Zayd,

¹ Shaykh al-Ṣadūq: *Kamāl al-Dīn wa Tamām al-Ni'mah* 276, al-Ṭabrisī: *al-Ihtijāj* 1/70, al-Nisāpūri: *Rawḍat al-Wā'izīn* 98, Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabari: 117.

² For details, see al-Amīnī: *al-Ghadīr*.

please narrate to us what you have heard from the Messenger of Allāh.”

Zayd spoke, “Son of my brother, I swear by Allāh that I have become old-aged, my days have become very old and have forgotten some of these narrations that I used to memorize directly from the Messenger of Allāh. You therefore should accept what I will tell you and should not ask me things over my ability.” He then added, “One day, in a place between Makkah and al-Madīnah called Khumm, the Messenger of Allāh delivered a speech to us. After statements of praising and thanking Almighty Allāh as well as statements of preach and reminding of Him, the Holy Prophet said, ‘O people, I am no more than an ordinary person and the messenger of my Lord (i.e. the angel of death) will shortly come to me and then I will respond. Among you, I have left two weighty things: first, the Book of Allāh that includes right guidance and illumination. Preserve in the Book of Allāh and hold fast on it. Second, my household; remember Allāh concerning my household, remember Allāh concerning my household, remember Allāh concerning my household.’”

Ḥuṣayn asked again, “Zayd, who are the Holy Prophet’s Household? Are his wives included with his household?”

Zayd answered, “His wives are included with his household, but his Household are those whom are forbidden to receive alms after him.”

Ḥuṣayn asked, “Who are they?”

Zayd answered, “They are the family of ‘Alī, the family of ‘Aqīl, the family of Ja‘far, and the family of ‘Abbās.”¹

Al-Ḥākim, in *al-Mustadrak* 3/148, records the following:

It has been narrated on the authority of Zayd ibn Arqam that the Holy Prophet said, “I am leaving among you the

¹ Also, Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal: *al-Musnad* 2/366.

two weighty things—Allāh’s Book and my household. They will not leave each other until they join me on the Divine Pool.”

Although this report is authentic according to the criteria of Muslim and al-Bukhārī, they have not recorded it in their books.

Although, Muslim and al-Ḥākim have recorded the same report, al-Ḥākim used words carrying that Imāmate will persist to the Resurrection Day.

Ibn Kathīr, in *al-Bidāyah wa’l-Nihāyah* 5/408, has had a different opinion:

In his way back to al-Madīnah after having clarified the rituals of the Ḥajj, the Holy Prophet addressed a remarkable sermon under a tree in Ghadīr Khumm on the eighteenth of Dhu’l-Ḥijjah. In this sermon, he demonstrated many things. He also referred to `Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib’s merits—his honesty, decency and close standing to him. By this, the Holy Prophet removed what many people had born in their hearts against `Alī. Abū-Ja`far al-Ṭabarī was so interested in this sermon that he compiled a two-volume book in which he mentioned its ways of narration and different forms. Likewise, Abu’l-Qāsim ibn `Asākir, the grand scholar, has recorded many narrations appertained to the sermon.

For Ibn Kathīr, the matter is no more than an attempt to remove the malice that some Muslims had against `Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib; therefore, he ordered them to halt in Ghadīr Khumm in order to prove `Alī’s honesty and innocence. The Holy Prophet mentioned `Alī’s merits so as to ‘remove what many people had born in their hearts against `Alī.’ In this sermon, ‘He demonstrated many things.’ That is it.

Such a style is expected from an author belonging to the tribe of `Abd al-Dār that Imām `Alī had killed their best knights during the battles of Islām, but not an author respecting Islām

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and having any amount of love for `Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib! For this reason, Wahhābīs adore Ibn Kathīr and publish his books.

Al-Juḥafah and Ghadīr Khumm

Why was the divine commandment revealed on the way to al-Madīnah, in the heart of the desert and in the hottest hours of that day?

Almighty Allāh wanted to say to His Prophet, 'There is no difference between Makkah and al-Madīnah. Wherever you declare the leadership of your progeny, people of Quraysh may object and mutiny. They have always hated your household. Because your mission is to convey, the place and time are now quite suitable for conveyance. Convey and I will protect you against people of Quraysh so that you will be able to fulfill the mission of conveyance. I will withhold their hearts and mentalities, shut the mouths of their devils and preserve your prophethood. Then, I will respite them as they will persecute your progeny so that My will regarding your ummah and progeny will come to pass. At that time, I will send al-Mahdī who will fill in the earth with justice after it was filled in with injustice for I cannot be questioned concerning what I do and they shall be questioned.

From this cause, another question may be cited: How did the Lord protect His Prophet against people of Quraysh that none of them attempted to object? Most of the Qurayshite chiefs were in Makkah; yet, some of them were in the caravan, which also included some Muhājirūn who were loyal to their clans' chiefs, not their Prophet. How could they say nothing and control their nerves? How did they testify the Holy Prophet's conveyance? How did they promise him to tell the absent about what occurred there? How did they respond to him and congratulate `Alī for that leadership?

To answer, Almighty Allāh wanted to preserve the message and constitute His claim against people. Out of His omnipotence, He caused people of Quraysh to keep silent in Ghadīr Khumm. They took the question as one of the declarations of the

Farewell Ḥajj said repeatedly by the Holy Prophet who was still alive; so, when he would die, they would have another manner. When they tried to speak out and object, the Lord sent down a backed clay on al-Naḍr ibn al-Hārith—their spokesman and sent him to death, and sent down fire on another and, too, sent him to death. These two sorts of heavenly punishment were enough to make people of Quraysh stop cutting the road of the Ahl al-Bayt's leadership.

On the other side, the Holy Prophet found rest for he had conveyed the Lord's message utterly and declared the divine commission of nominating 'Alī for leadership. The matter deserved a celebration. This time, the process of conveyance was accomplished peacefully, people of Quraysh did not object, Jābir ibn Samarah was not infected with temporary deafness when the Holy Prophet said 'my progeny' or 'Alī' or 'Banū-Hāshim' and no mutiny was shown, unlike the incident of al-Madīnah that took place only four days before the Holy Prophet's final departure when they rejected to fetch him a pen and a paper so that he would record a document protecting them against deviation forever.

According to Shiite narrations, the Holy Prophet ordered them to congratulate so as to confirm their commitment to the nomination.

Sunni reference books of Ḥadīth have reported that Abū-Bakr, the Qurayshite caliph, felt extremely sorry for he had ordered to attack the house of 'Alī and Fāṭimah (a.s) two or three days after the Holy Prophet's departure. In *Majma' al-Zawā'id* 5/202, we read the following:

It has been narrated that 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn 'Awf said, "I visited Abū-Bakr in his final ailment... He said, 'I am not contrite for anything except three deeds that I wish I had not done... I wish I had not attacked Fāṭimah's house even I would be engaged in a war...'

The story in brief is that when Abū-Bakr became the caliph, he summoned Imām 'Alī to pay homage, he objected and accused

them of betraying the Holy Prophet. Meanwhile, Abū-Bakr was informed that a number of Anṣār and Muhājirūn were holding a meeting in Fāṭimah's house. `Umar suggested that the house should be attacked and the group should be threatened a burning if they would insist. `Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb led a group and attacked the house of Fāṭimah (a.s). They surrounded and placed firewood around the house. Some of those who were in the house were supporting Imām `Alī's situation while the others were there for offering consolation on the Holy Prophet's decease. All of them, however, were threatened burning if they would refuse to come out. Practically, firewood were set on fire around the house. Because he had to carry out the Holy Prophet's instruction, Imām `Alī did not want to fight them. Fāṭimah al-Zahrā' went out so that they would revere her and go back. On the contrary, she suffered insults and was beaten by the lash of some of them so heavily that her baby was aborted... etc.

In due course, `Alī and Fāṭimah (a.s) decided to seek Anṣār's support demanding them to fulfill their pledge to protect the Ahl al-Bayt in the same way as they protect their families. Imām `Alī asked Lady Fāṭimah al-Zahrā', the ailing, to ride on an animal while al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn, Zaynab and Umm-Kulthūm accompanied them passing by the celebrities of Anṣār for two nights. Answering Lady Fāṭimah, they said, 'Daughter of the Holy Prophet: Had we heard your words before paying homage to Abū-Bakr, we would never have accepted anyone save `Alī.' Yet, she answered, 'My father did not leave any excuse for anyone on that day in Ghadīr Khumm.'¹

Lady Fāṭimah al-Zahrā''s speech was a copy of her father's. Indeed, she was a part of him and too immaculate to speak like ordinary people since she was godly in creation, thinking, feelings and manners. Correspondingly, her father said, 'Very, Allāh is satisfied whenever Fāṭimah is satisfied and enraged whenever Fāṭimah is enraged.' She thus imitated her father

¹ Shaykh al-Ṣadūq: *al-Khiṣāl* 1/173.

when she refuted Anṣār's excuse showing that their answer had been political while the divine claim is more elevated, prevalent and advanced than political games. As Almighty Allāh named the leader of the ummah, no one has the right to choose. All people are thus required to submit since the claim of their Lord has been constituted on them.

According to the conception of the divine conveyance, the declaration of Ghadīr was a never-ending divine action while any opposite act can be effective in political conceptions only. As a matter of fact, the politically powerful acts are still futile and meaningless even if they persist for years, centuries, or until the advent of Imām al-Mahdī.





مرکز تحقیقات کامپیوتر علوم اسلامی

THE VERSE OF IKMĀL AL-DĪN THE FINAL VERSE

It is not unacceptable to say that a thoughtful study of the events that caused the revelation of Qur'ānic Verses establishes new indications, unveils new facts and repeals many things that people adopt as facts for ages. This is because the statistical aspect in the interpretation of the Holy Qur'ān is more reliable than other aspects. In case there are five contrary narrations each mentioning a definite event, place and date for the revelation of a Qur'ānic text, it is illogic to accept them all just because their narrators were Ṣahābah any of whom will surely guide to the right! In fact, one narration only will be true, while the others will be not. Yet, this mission is difficult because of the confusion and contrast of the narrations. At any rate, exegetes of the Holy Qur'ān are required to undertake the mission actively and tolerably in order to supply the ummah with the results of their studies that must be new and useful in the field of the understanding of the Holy Qur'ān and Sunnah as well as the other religious fields.

Muslims scholars' inconsistency in defining the earliest Qur'ānic text is not unfamiliar;¹ rather their inconsistency in defining the last revelation is very strange! In the beginning of the Divine Revelation, there were no Muslims, no writers and no interest in the march of the Divine Mission, while when the last revelation descended, Muslims were united nation surrounding the Holy Prophet after he had predicted the imminence of his final departure and accompanied them during the ritual Ḥajj.

¹ For more details, see al-Suyūṭī: *al-Itqān* 1/91.

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The reason was definitely political; for political purposes, the question of the last revelation of the Holy Qur`ān was obscured.

SŪRAH OF AL-MĀ`IDAH; THE FINAL

Reference books of Ḥadīth, Tafsīr and jurisprudence have proven that Sūrah of al-Mā`idah was the final Qur`ānic chapter, and the Verse of Ikmāl al-Dīn (Perfection of the Religion), which was revealed after sealing all the precepts, was the final Qur`ānic text. Nevertheless, some Ṣaḥābah attempted to change this fact.

The Ahl al-Bayt's Opīnion

In al-`Ayyāshī's book of *Tafsīr* 1/288, we read the following:

It has been narrated on the authority of `Īsā ibn `Abdullāh on the authority of his father on the authority of his grandfather that Imām `Alī said, "Qur`ānic texts used to be repealed by the newer ones; consequently, the Holy Prophet used to take up the latest. Sūrah of al-Mā`idah repealed the other Sūrahs because it was the final. It was revealed while the Holy Prophet was riding his brown-red mule. The revelation was so ponderous that the animal had to stop and its abdomen was about to touch the ground. The Holy Prophet was fainted and had to catch Shaybah ibn Wahab al-Jamḥī's braid. After a while, he raised his head and recited Sūrah of al-Mā`idah.

Imām `Alī wanted to say that rubbing the feet during the ritual ablution is obligatory since no other ruling has repealed it because it was revealed finally.¹

In *al-Kāfi* 1/289, we read the following:

It has been narrated on the authority of `Alī ibn Ibrāhīm on the authority of his father on the authority of Ibn Abī-`Umayr on the authority of `Umar ibn Udhaynah on the

¹ Shaykh al-Ḥuwayzī: *Tafsīr Nūr al-Thaqalayn* 1/582 and 5/447.

authority of Zurārah, al-Fuḍayl ibn Yasār, Bukayr ibn A`yun, Muḥammad ibn Muslim, Burayd ibn Mu`āwiyah and Abu'l-Jārūd that Abū-Ja`far (Imām al-Bāqir) said, "Almighty Allāh has made the loyalty to `Alī obligatory. He revealed, 'Only Allāh is your guardian and His Messenger and those who believe, those how keep prayers and pay the Zakāt while they bow.' People did not know what the loyalty meant; therefore, He ordered the Holy Prophet to explain it in the same way as he explained the obligatory prayer, Zakāt, fasting and Ḥajj, but because he feared lest people would apostatize from the religion or belie him, he supplicated to the Lord about it and the Lord revealed, 'O Apostle! Deliver what has been revealed to you from your Lord, and if you do it not, then you have not revealed His message and Allāh will protect you from the people.' Immediately after that, he carried out the instruction. He called people to gather and conveyed the divinely commissioned leadership of `Alī and ordered the attendants to carry it to the absent. That took place in Ghadir Khumm. The precepts were revealed consecutively and the last of them was the loyalty to the Ahl al-Bayt; therefore, closely after the Holy Prophet's declaration of Ghadir, Almighty Allāh revealed, 'This day have I perfected for you your religion and completed My favor on you and chosen for you Islām as a religion.' By this Verse, the Lord meant that He should not reveal any more precepts since He had perfected them.

The following is quoted from Al-Ya`qūbī's *Tārīkh* 2/43:

It has been said that the Verse of Ikmāl al-Dīn was the final. It is the most accurate opinion.

Sunnī Narratjōns Agreejng to the Ahl Al-Bayt's Opīnjōn

In *al-Durr al-Manthūr* 2/252, we read the following:

It has been narrated on the authority of Sa`īd ibn Manṣūr and Ibn al-Mundhir on the authority of Abū-Maysarah that the final revealed Sūrah was al-Mā`idah wherein seventeen precepts are mentioned.

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In *al-Muḥallā* 9/407, the following is recorded:

It has been narrated on the authority of `Ā`ishah that the Sūrah of al-Mā`idah was the final. You thus should deem lawful whatever you find lawful therein and deem unlawful whatever you find prohibited therein. On that account, the Verses of this Sūrah have not been repealed; rather they are decisive.

In the same book, 7/389, we read the following:

It has been narrated on the authority of Ibn Wahab on the authority of Mu`āwiyah ibn Ṣāliḥ on the authority of Jirri Ibn Kulayb on the authority of Jubayr ibn Nufayr that `Ā`ishah said, 'Sūrah of al-Mā`idah was the final. You should thus deem unlawful whatever is prohibited therein.'¹

Read the following in *Majma` al-Zawā`id* 1/256:

It has been narrated on the authority of Ibn `Abbās that... Sūrah of al-Mā`idah has decided everything because it was the final.

Although the report has been also recorded fully in al-Ṭabarānī's *al-Mu`jam al-Awsaṭ* and, yet a part of it, Ibn Mājah's *al-Sunan*, one of its reporters is `Ubayd ibn `Ubaydah al-Tammār who, according to Ibn Ḥabbān, was trustful but used to report strange narrations.

Al-Haythamī wants to say that this man used to narrate reports opposing the regulations of the ruling authorities one of which is that the final Sūrah was not al-Mā`idah.

¹ Aḥmad: *al-Musnad* 6/188, al-Bayhaqī: *al-Sunan* 7/172 (in two reports), Abū-Ya`lī: *Ṭabaqāt al-Ḥanbaliyyah* 1/427, al-Ḥākim: *al-Mustadrak* 2/311. Commenting on the report, al-Ḥākim says, 'Although Muslim and al-Bukhārī have not recorded, it is authentic according to their criteria.' Later on, the reader will understand that Muslim and al-Bukhārī have not recorded the reports so as to cover up `Umar who cited other Sūrahs as the final.

The following is quoted from *al-Durr al-Manthūr* 2/252:

It has been narrated on the authority of Abū-'Ubayd Damarah ibn Ḥabīb and 'Aṭīyyah ibn Qays that the Holy Prophet said, 'Sūrah of al-Mā'idah is one of the final. You should thus depend upon what is therein respecting the lawful and the prohibited.

This is the only narration that adds 'one of' to the text. It therefore must be understood that it was added so as to seek the satisfaction of the ruling authorities.

According to *Tafsīr al-Tibyān* 3/413, 'Abdullāh ibn 'Umar said, 'Sūrah of al-Mā'idah was the final.'

In *al-Ghadīr* 1/228, we read the following:

Ibn Kathīr has narrated on the authority of Aḥmad, al-Ḥākim and al-Nassā'ī that 'Ā'ishah said, 'Sūrah of al-Mā'idah was the final.'

To sum it up, the Ahl al-Bayt, as well as many authentic narrations recorded in Sunni reference book of Ḥadīth, have confirmed that Sūrah of al-Mā'idah was the final and the Verse of Ikmāl al-Dīn was the final revelation because it shows that the religion has been perfected.

THE OTHER OPINIONS

Although the question of the Verse of Ikmāl al-Dīn's being the final is logically and practically indisputable, it was obscured because of the many conflicting, yet authentic according to their criteria, narrations each identifying a definite Verse as the final. The matter became worse when some Ṣaḥābah adopted certain opinions in this regard, and the Ṣaḥābah's personal opinions are always too faultless to be objected!

Unlike the four opinions about the first revelation, al-Suyūṭī, in *al-Itqān* 1/101, seemed to be too embarrassed to list the many conflicting opinions regarding the final revelation; he therefore outlined them at a fast pace. Yet, we, hereinafter, have to

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undertake this mission and list some of them, yet in abstract, so that we will refer to the reason beyond the origination of each opinion:

1. Verse 278 of Sūrah of al-Baqarah (The Verse of usury)
2. Verse 176 of Sūrah of al-Nisā' (The Verse of Kalālah)
3. Verse 281 of Sūrah of al-Baqarah
4. Verse 128 of Sūrah of al-Tawbah
5. Verse 25 of Sūrah of al-Anbiyā'
6. Verse 110 of Sūrah of al-Kahf
7. Verse 93 of Sūrah of al-Nisā'
8. Sūrah of al-Tawbah
9. Sūrah of al-Naşr



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The following story may focus some light on the origination of such contradiction and confusion:

As he could not cite the exegesis of the Verse of usury, 'Umar excused that the Verse was the final and the Holy Prophet was deceased before he had explained. Since then, this Verse found itself a place in the opinions regarding the final Qur'ānic text to vie with Sūrah of al-Mā'idah. In any event, usury has been discussed in four Verses some of which were revealed in Makkah. Which one was intended to be the final?

As usual, the fans of 'Umar volunteered to solve the problem introducing Verse 278 of Sūrah of al-Baqarah as the one intended. For this cause, they have believed that the final Verse lies in Sūrah of al-Baqarah, which was revealed in the earliest stage of the Holy Prophet's immigration and decided that the prohibition of usury was an additional legislation since it was revealed after the Verse of Ikmāl al-Dīn. In their conceptions, such irony is acceptable so long as it aims at defending 'Umar!

From Aḥmad ibn Ḥanbal's *al-Musnad* 1/36, we quote the following:

It has been narrated on the authority of Sa'id ibn al-Musayyab that 'Umar, May Allāh please him, said, 'The Verse of usury was the final. The Prophet was deceased before he had explained it. Therefore, you should leave usury and suspicion.'¹

From al-Sarakhsī's *al-Mabsūṭ* 2/51 and 12/114, we quote the following:

'Umar, may Allāh please him, said, "The Verse of usury was the final. The Prophet died before he had explained it.'

Al-Suyūṭī, in *al-Itqān* 1/101, records the following:

Al-Bukhārī has narrated on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās that the Verse of usury was the final. On the authority of 'Umar, al-Bayhaqī has related a similar thing. Aḥmad (ibn Ḥanbal) and Ibn Mājah have narrated that 'Umar said that the Verse of usury was one of the final revelations.

Here is another story: One day, or many days in fact, 'Umar could not understand the meaning of Kalālah; consequently, he had to say that the Verse was the final and the Holy Prophet died before he had explained it, or he had explained it insufficiently.

Al-Bukhārī, in *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 5/115 has narrated on the authority of al-Barrā' ibn 'Āzib that Sūrah of al-Tawbah was the final and the last Verse in Sūrah of al-Nisā' was the final.

Al-Suyūṭī, in *al-Itqān* 1/101 has narrated on the authority of Muslim and al-Bukhārī that al-Barrā' ibn 'Āzib said, 'The finally Verse is the last in Sūrah of al-Nisā' and the final Sūrah is al-Tawbah.'

¹ Also, al-Muttaqī al-Hindī: *Kanz al-'Ummāl* 4/186.

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Aḥmad, in *al-Musnad* 4/298 has also narrated on the authority of al-Barrā' ibn 'Āzib that the final Sūrah was al-Tawbah and the final Verse was the last in Sūrah of al-Nisā'.

Since then, the Verse of Kalālah pushed its way in the opinions regarding the final Verse to vie with Sūrah of al-Mā'idah and the Verse of usury.

It is worth mentioning that the question of Kalālah perplexed 'Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb so immensely that he regarded it as one of the major issues of the ummah.¹

However, the previous stories indicate that Sunni reference books of Ḥadīth have been too contradictory to be accepted as a whole. It is therefore necessary to accept some and throw others. They also imply that 'Umar, in the conceptions of our Sunni brethren, is so untouchable that his unreasonable claims must be turned into undiscussible facts even if they oppose the Holy Qur'ān or accuse the Holy Prophet of imperfect conveyance! If anyone rejects, he must be one of the Rāfiḍah who are the enemies of Allāh, His Prophet, His religion and the Ṣaḥābah!

Correspondingly, 'Umar confirmed that the Verses of usury, Kalālah and perhaps many others were revealed after the Verse of Ikmāl al-Dīn. In other words, Almighty Allāh informed Muslims about the perfection of the religion while there were still many questions to be revealed! No Muslim should ever accept to accuse the Lord and His Messenger of imperfection and illogic so as to save an ordinary mortal from contradiction.

Let us now refer to the other opinions in brief:

¹ For details, see al-Bukhāri: *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 6/242, Muslim: *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 2/81, 5/61 and 8/245, Ibn Mājah: *al-Sunan* 2/910, Al-Suyūṭī, *al-Durr al-Manthūr* 2/249, al-Ḥākim, *al-Mustadrak* 2/303 and al-Muttaqī al-Hindī: *Kanz al-'Ummāl* 11/80.

Al-Bukhārī, in *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 5/182, has recorded on the authority of Sa`id ibn Jubayr that Ibn `Abbās said, 'Verse 93 of Sūrah of al-Nisā' was not repealed by any other Verse because it was the final.'¹

It is improper to accept such 'authenticated' narrations and to believe that the prohibition of murdering a believer was an additional law that was revealed after the Verse of Ikmāl al-Dīn.

Al-Ḥākim, in *al-Mustadrak* 2/338, has narrated on the authority of Yūsuf ibn Māhrān on the authority of Ibn `Abbās that `Ubay ibn Ka`b said that the last two Verses of Sūrah of al-Tawbah were the final.²

Muslim, in *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 8/243, has narrated on the authority of Ibn `Abbās that the final Sūrah that was revealed wholly is Sūrah of al-Naṣr.³

Al-Ṭabarānī, in *al-Mu`jam al-Kabīr* 12/19, has recorded on the authority of Ibn `Abbās that Verse 281 of Sūrah of al-Baqarah was the final.

Even Mu`āwiyah ibn Abī-Sufyān had an opinion; from the minbar, he denied that the Verse of Ikmāl al-Dīn was the final; rather it was the last Verse of Sūrah of al-Kahf where Allāh reproached His Messenger!⁴

Having noticed that the matter exceeded all limits, al-Suyūṭī has had to say something, yet slightly, about the opinions of

¹ Also, al-Bukhārī: *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 6/15, al-Haythamī: *al-Durr al-Manthūr* 2/196 and al-Nawawī: *al-Majmū`* 18/345.

² Also, al-Haythamī: *al-Durr al-Manthūr* 3/295 and Abū-Dāwūd: *al-Sunan* 1/182. However, such narrations have been thoroughly discussed in `Alī al-Kūrānī al-`Āmilī: *Tadwūn al-Qur`ān*.

³ Also, al-Tirmidhī: *al-Sunan* 4/326, Ibn Kathīr: *Tafsīr* 2/2 and al-Haythamī: *al-Durr al-Manthūr* 6/407.

⁴ Al-Ṭabarānī: *al-Mu`jam al-Kabīr* 19/392.

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`Umar and Mu`āwiyah who went extremely far in forgery so as to take the Verse of Ikmāl al-Dīn away from the Ahl al-Bayt and the incident and declaration of Ghadīr Khumm. As usual, al-Suyūṭī had to pass by the matter so quickly that none would wonder. In *al-Itqān* 1/102, he records the following:

Undoubtedly, the Verse of Ikmāl al-Dīn was revealed during the Farewell Ḥajj denoting that all the laws have been perfected. Many scholars, such as al-Saddī, have affirmed that all the religious laws were revealed before the Verse intended; yet, it has been narrated that the Verses of usury, debt and Kalālah were revealed later. Ibn Jarīr, however, has not accepted this opinion. He says that the perfection of the religion stands for Muslims' prevalence on Makkah, no more.

Ibn Jarīr, whose words might be admitted by al-Suyūṭī, wants to say that the only solution for such contrary narrations is to take the Verse of Ikmāl al-Dīn¹ away from the perfection of the religion in order to save the opinions of `Umar and Mu`āwiyah.

It is however not a new thing; Sunni scholars have always wanted to deem obligatory the words of the Ṣaḥābah, except the Ahl al-Bayt of course, even if they have to put a veto on the words of Allāh and His Messenger!

The result of such fanaticism is that they have concluded that the Verse of Ikmāl al-Dīn was not the final, nor was Sūrah of al-Mā'idah the seal of the Qur`ān. Moreover, it does not denote the perfection of the religious rulings; rather it refers to the perfection of the conquest of Makkah. Accordingly, 'this day' mentioned in the Verse refers to two years before!

¹ Although the meaning of Ikmāl al-Dīn is the perfection of the religion, Sunni scholars have intended to distort it so as to keep the words of `Umar and Mu`āwiyah as sanctified as possible.

Later on, the reader will realize that 'Umar asserted that 'this day' refers to the very day on which the Verse was revealed or even, as al-Qurtubī¹ affirms, the very hour.

The Verse in the Holy Qur'ān

In the Name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful

(2) *O you who believe! Do not violate the signs appointed by Allih nor the sacred month, nor interfere with the offerings, nor the sacrificial animals with garlands, nor those going to the sacred house seeking the grace and pleasure of their Lord; and that you are free from the obligations of the Ḥajj, then hunt, and let not hatred of a people because they hindered you from the Sacred Masjid incite you to exceed the limits, and help one another in goodness and piety, and do not help one another in sin and aggression; and be careful of your duty to Allāh; surely Allāh is severe in requiting evil.*

(3) *Forbidden to you is that which dies of itself, and blood, and flesh of swine, and that on which any other name than that of Allāh has been invoked, and the strangled animal and that beaten to death, and that killed by a fall and that killed by being smitten with the horn, and that which wild beasts have eaten, except what you slaughter, and what is sacrificed on stones set up for idols and that you divide by the arrows; that is a transgression. This day have those who disbelieve despair of your religion, so fear them not, and fear Me. This day have I perfected for you your religion and completed My favor on you and chosen for you Islām as a religion; but whoever is compelled by hunger, not inclining willfully to sin, then surely Allāh is Forgiving, Merciful.*

The Forbidden Meat

In the first place, the unusual situation of the Verse jumps to the mind. According to reports and interpretation of the Holy Qur'ān, the Verse was revealed during the Farewell Ḥajj as an independent Verse; yet, it is now a part of a Verse concerning

¹ Al-Qurtubī: *Tafsir* 1/143 and 2/61.

the forbidden meat. If this part is removed, the meaning of the whole Verse will not change. Why has the Verse been situated in this place? Was it its original place according to the revelation or did one of the Ṣaḥābah choose this place for it out of personal view?

First of all, we, the Shī'ah, are too submissive to Almighty Allāh to say that any sort of distortion has ever occurred to the Holy Qur'ān. Yet, we have put such a question hoping for an answer. Perhaps, those who collected the Holy Qur'ān missed out the correct position of the Verse and, instead of putting it in the end of Sūrah of al-Mā'idah, they put it in this position. If the Verse comes after the rulings of the meat, it may be acceptable; but to be in the middle of the rulings is rather unsatisfactory! Al-Haythamī, in *al-Durr al-Manthūr* 2/257-9, has narrated on the authority of Ibn Jarīr that al-Saddī said that the Verse of Ikmāl al-Dīn was revealed on the day of 'Arafāt and was the sealing of the rulings.

The Ahl al-Bayt and the Verse of Ikmāl al-Dīn

The Ahl al-Bayt have confirmed that the Verse was revealed in al-Juḥafah on Thursday, the eighteenth of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah when the Holy Prophet was in his way back from the Farewell Ḥajj. The following narration is quoted from al-Kulaynī's *al-Kāfi* 1/289:

It has been narrated on the authority of 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm on the authority of Ṣāliḥ ibn al-Sindī on the authority of Ja'far ibn Bashīr on the authority of Hārūn ibn Khārijah on the authority of Abū-Baṣīr that a man, once, asked Imām al-Bāqir whether leadership of Imām 'Alī was a personal opinion or was it divinely commissioned. The Imām answered, 'The Holy Prophet has been too reverent to declare a thing without the command of Almighty Allāh. Like the obligatory rituals of prayer, Zakāt, fasting and Ḥajj, the leadership of Imām 'Alī was an obligatory precept that Almighty Allāh has issued.

In 1/198 of the same book, we read the following narration:

The following has been narrated on the authority of `Abd al-`Azīz ibn Muslim:

In the Masjid of Marw, people, discussing the Imāmate, referred to the big variance of people's opinions in this regard. I therefore visited Imām al-Riḍā (a.s) and informed him about the question. He smiled and said to me:

`Abd al-`Azīz: People are indeed ignorant about the religion. Almighty Allāh would not cause His Prophet (a.s) to die unless He would perfect the religion. He revealed to him the Holy Qur`ān in which there is the explanation of everything and the manifestation of what is lawful, unlawful, the doctrinal provisions, the rulings and everything that people may need. In this regard, He says, 'Nothing is left without a mention in the Book. 6/38'

During the Farewell Hajj, which took place in the last days of the Holy Prophet's lifetime, Almighty Allāh revealed to him saying, 'This day have I perfected your religion, completed My favors to you and have chosen Islām as a religion. 6/3'

Imāmate has been a part of the perfection of the religion. The Holy Prophet (a.s) did not depart this world before he had manifested to the ummah the points of their religion, showed them the right courses that they should take, situated them on the right path and assigned Imām `Ali (a.s) as leader and Imām for them. As a matter of fact, he did not leave anything without thorough manifestation. Anyone who claims that Allāh has not perfected His religion is in fact denying the Holy Qur`ān, and to deny the Holy Qur`ān is a sort of atheism.

Do people acknowledge the true standing of Imāmate and its position in the ummah so that they may be rightful to choose for themselves?

Almighty Allāh has given Prophet Abraham Imāmate as a third rank after prophethood and intimacy and as a virtue by which He conferred honor upon him and praised him.

“When his Lord tested Abraham's faith, (by His words) and he satisfied the test, He said, ‘I am appointing you as the Imām of mankind.’ Abraham asked, ‘Will this Imāmate also continue through my descendants?’ The Lord replied, ‘The unjust do not have the right to exercise My authority. 2/124” Prophet Abraham was highly delighted for this rank; therefore, he hoped it would be passed to his descendants. This Verse, however, cancels the Imāmate of any unjust individual up to the Day of Resurrection and dedicates it to the choice ones exclusively. Then Almighty Allāh has honored Imāmate when He has decided it to be for the offspring of the Immaculate ones. He says, “We granted him (Abraham) Isaac and Jacob as a gift and helped both of them to become righteous people. We appointed them as Imāms to guide the people through Our command and sent them revelation to strive for good deeds, worship their Lord and pay religious tax. Both of them were Our worshipping servants. 21/73-4” The successive generations kept on receiving the Imāmate in inheritance until it reached Prophet Muḥammad (a.s). In this regard, Almighty Allāh says, “The nearest people to Abraham, among mankind, are those who followed him, this Prophet (Muḥammad) and the true believers. 3/68” In this manner, the Imāmate has become exclusive for them. Then the Holy Prophet (a.s) gave it to Imām `Alī (a.s) to be successive in his choice offspring upon whom Allāh has conferred knowledge and faith. This is indicated in Almighty Allāh’s saying, “Those who have received knowledge and have faith will say, ‘By the decree of Allāh, you have remained for the exact period which was mentioned in the Book of Almighty Allāh about the Day of Resurrection. This is the Day of Resurrection, but you did not know. 30/56” This Verse shows the decree of Almighty Allāh regarding the question of Imāmate that will persist in the Holy Prophet’s progeny until the Day of Resurrection, since no prophet should come after Muḥammad (a.s).

After all, how can those ignorant people choose for Imāmate out of their opinions?¹

¹ So long as the precious and holy statements of Imām al-Riḍā have been cited, it seems suitable to refer to them perfectly for they surely include remarkable points and demonstrate the actual position of the Holy Imāms as quoted from Ibn Shu`bah al-Ḥarrānī: *Tuḥaf al-'Uqūl*:

Going on, Imām al-Riḍā says:

Imāmate is the rank of the Prophets and the heritage of the Prophets' successors.

Imāmate is the representation of Almighty Allāh and His Messenger (a.s), the position of Amīr al-Mu`minin and the inheritance of al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn (a.s).

The Imām is the head of the religious affairs, the system of Muslims, the goodness of the world and the stronghold of the believers.

The Imām is the rising principal and the noble branch of Islām.

The accomplishment of the prayers, zakāt, fasting, Ḥajj, jihād, the availability of spoils and alms, the execution of the doctrinal provisions and the rules and the protections of the fronts and the borders—all these are achieved through the Imām only.

The Imām legalizes whatever Allāh deems legal, forbids whatever Almighty Allāh deems illegal, executes the doctrinal provisions that Almighty Allāh enacts, protects the religion of Almighty Allāh and calls to the path of Almighty Allāh through wisdom, good advice and strong evidence.

The Imām is as same as the shining sun whose light covers the whole world while it stands upright in the horizon and neither sights nor can hands catch it.

The Imām is the luminous full moon, the bright lamp, the rising light, the guiding star in the deep-black gloom, the guide to the right and the savior from perdition.

The Imām is the guiding fire on highlands, the heat to the seekers of warmth and the rescuer from dangers. Whoever departs the Imām will surely perish.

The Imām is the raining clouds, the torrential downpour, the shady sky, the plain land, the abundant spring, the brook and the garden.

The Imām is the lenient custodian, the humane father, the full brother, the like of the sympathetic mother to her baby and the shelter of the servants.

The Imām is the trustee of Almighty Allāh on His land and creatures, the argument of Almighty Allāh against the servants, the successor of

Almighty Allāh in His countries, the caller to Almighty Allāh, and the protector of the sanctities of Almighty Allāh.

The Imām is purified from sins, freed from defects, given knowledge exclusively, characterized with forbearance, the system of the religion, the stronghold of the believers, the punishment of the hypocrites and the perdition of the disbelievers.

The Imām is the unique in his time. No one can catch up with him and no scholar can amount to him. There is no substitute for him and there are no like or match to him. The whole virtue is dedicated to him without seeking or acquisition. It is only the choice of the Favourer and Endower—Almighty Allāh.

How is it then possible for anybody to understand the reality and the quality of the Imām? How impossible this is! Minds are too astray, intellects are too lost, wits are too perplexed, speakers are too mute, poets are too unversed, authors are too impotent, eloquent ones are too wordless and scholars are too weak to describe a single feature or a single virtue of the Imām's features and virtues. As a consequence, they all have confessed of their inadequacy to do so. How is it then possible to describe him as a whole or portray his manners? How is it possible to find anyone who can do his role or represent him? How is this possible while the Imām is as far as stars from the reach of the debaters and the describers? Do they think that they can find Imāmate in anybody other than the Holy Prophet's family?

They are deceived by their opinions and they are indulging in the false hopes. They are surely climbing a rugged ascent and a slippery mount that will surely cause them to stumble to the rock bottom because they have intended to nominate an Imām out of their desires. How can they nominate an Imām while the true Imām is permanently knowledgeable that ignorance never reaches him and a custodian that never betrays? He is the core of the prophethood whose lineage is too honorable to be criticized and no highborn individual can ever dare him. The Imām's tribe is Quraysh, his clan is Hāshim, his root is the Messenger of Almighty Allāh and the master of the celebrities and the offspring of 'Abd Manāf.

The Imām is he whose knowledge is increasing and whose forbearance is perfect. He is cognizant of policy and worthy of leadership. The obedience to him is obligatory. He is the executor of Almighty Allāh's commandments and the adviser of Almighty Allāh's servants.

Almighty Allāh has lead the Prophets and their successors (a.s) to success and the right path and given them (a part of His stored) knowledge and wisdom exclusively so that they become the most knowledgeable of people. Almighty Allāh, the Majestic, says, "Is the one who guides to the Truth a

Sunni Opinion Agreeing to the Ahl al-Bayt's

In Sunni reference books of Ḥadīth, one can find tens of narrations, some of which are 'first class' according to their criteria in classifying the Ḥadīth, regarding the declaration of Ghadīr. Al-Ṭabarī has compiled the texts and ways of narrating the declaration of Ghadīr in a two-volume book entitled '*al-Wilāyah*.' Ibn 'Asākir and many others have also recorded similar reports all of which refer to the Holy Prophet's raising Imām 'Alī's hand and conveying the Lord's commandment of the loyalty to his Imāmate. Nevertheless, a number of fanatic Sunnis have criticized al-Ṭabarī for that work since they anticipated that Shī'ah would constitute it as evidence and

proper guide or one who himself cannot find guidance unless he is guided (by others)? What is wrong with you that you judge (so unjustly)? 10/35"

Relating the story of Saul, He says, "Allāh has chosen him as your ruler and has given him physical power and knowledge. Allāh grants His authority to anyone whom He wants. 2/247"

About Prophet David, He says, "David slew Goliath and Allāh granted David the kingdom and wisdom and also taught him whatever He wanted. 2/251"

Addressing to the Holy Prophet, He says, "Allāh has revealed the Book to you, has given you wisdom and has taught you what you did not know. Certainly, Allāh's favor to you has been great. 4/113"

About the Imāms of the Ahl al-Bayt, He says, "Are they jealous of the favors that Allāh has done to some people (the Imāms)? We have given to the family of Abraham the Book, Wisdom and a great Kingdom. Some have believed, others have disbelieved and tried to prevent people from believing. For these people, only the intense fire of Hell is a sufficient punishment. 4/54-5"

When Almighty Allāh selects someone (the Imām) for managing the affairs of His servants, He grants him the inclination to do so, fills in his heart with springs of wisdom and bestows upon him with fluency. Hence, he will have the ability to answer any question and will say nothing but the truth. The Imām is therefore granted successfulness, right guidance and advocacy and will be saved from error and flaw.

He is given such characteristics so that he will be an argument against the creatures and a witness on the servants (of Almighty Allāh). Can they then ensure such characters for the one they choose as Imām out of their opinions?

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would refer to it during argument. Most of such narrations have confirmed that the Verse of Ikmāl al-Dīn was revealed on that day in Ghadīr Khumm just after the Holy Prophet's declaration of the divinely commissioned leadership of Imām `Alī (a.s). Unfortunately, most of Sunni scholars who admit the reports of Ghadīr have rejected the Verse's having been revealed on that occasion and, instead, admitted the sayings of `Umar and Mu`āwiyah claiming its revelation on the day of `Arafāt.

On the other hand, many Shiite scholars have recorded the narrations respecting the incident of Ghadīr, such as al-Naqawī al-Hindī: `Abaqāt al-Anwār, Shaykh al-Aminī: al-Ghadīr, Sayyid al-Mar`ashī: Sharḥ Iḥqāq al-Ḥaq and Sayyid al-Milānī: Nafaḥāt al-Azhār. Shaykh al-Aminī, al-Ghadīr 1/230, has listed the Sunni reference books of Ḥadīth who confirm that the Verse of Ikmāl al-Dīn was revealed on that day in Ghadīr after the Holy Prophet had nominated Imām `Alī as the coming leader.

`Umar's Opinion

`Umar says that the Verse of Ikmāl al-Dīn was revealed on the day of `Arafāt, which was Friday, during the Farewell Ḥajj. Hence, most Sunnis have adopted this opinion¹ disregarding the scholars, such as Sufyān al-Thawrī, al-Nassā`ī and many others, who doubted whether the day of `Arafāt during the Farewell Ḥajj was Friday and disregarding the many narrations that agree with the Ahl al-Bayt's claims because it was `Umar who said it and, as an indisputable rule, `Umar's statement must be beyond any dispute and must be preceded to all things!² Although major scholars have confirmed that the Verse of Ikmāl al-Dīn was revealed in Ghadīr Khumm on the occasion of the Holy Prophet's nominating Imām `Alī as the leader of the ummah, others, such as al-Suyūṭī, insist that it was revealed before that occasion.

¹ Al-Bukhāri: *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 1/16, 5/127 and 8/137.

² See for instance al-Suyūṭī: *al-Itqān* 1/75 and *al-Durr al-Manthūr* 2/259.

After presenting the scholars' opinions about the Verse, Ibn Kathīr, one of the adorer of `Umar, in *Tafsīr* 2/14, tries to unveil the scholars' suspecting the day of `Arafāt having been Friday during the Farewell Ḥajj so that to save `Umar's opinion from anything including suspicion. He uses deceptive words to degrade the suspicion aroused by Sufyān al-Thawri. In the same time, he ignores totally the reports of al-Ṭabarī that unveil the inaccuracy of `Umar's opinion.¹

FACTORS SUPPORTING THE AHL AL-BAYT'S OPINION

(1) Factor of Time

It is easy to search for the actual incident beyond the revelation of the Verse of Ikmāl al-Dīn through the many narrations reporting the events of the Farewell Ḥajj, which was expansively distinctive for it was prepared due to an earlier divine commandment. It was attended by about 70000-120000 individuals most of whom narrated, somewhat in details, most of the events therein as well as the Holy Prophet's actions, words and the five sermons. They also had in mind the day on which the Holy Prophet left al-Madīnah, the places he passed by or stopped at, the day on which he arrived in Makkah and how he undertook the rituals of the Ḥajj. Moreover, they described his journey back to al-Madīnah in details up to the final hour of his lifetime.

Accordingly, the element of time is the most important in the question of identifying the day on which the Verse of Ikmāl al-Dīn was revealed. Yet, it gives preponderance to the Ahl al-Bayt's opinion.

¹ Al-Ṭabarī, in *Tafsīr* 4/111, records many reports on the authority of major Ṣaḥābah, such as Ibn `Abbās, that the Verse of Ikmāl al-Dīn was revealed on Monday.

(2) Factor of Contradiction

Unlike the imaginations of al-Ṭabarī and his likes, the contradiction in this issue is not between two narrations one of which is more authenticated than the other; rather it is a contradiction between a Ḥadīth and a saying of `Umar. The reports that they have regarded as doubtful are in fact documented Ḥadīths while the other reports of al-Bukhārī and his likes are only sayings of `Umar who did not report them from the Holy Prophet. `Umar's saying is definitely not sufficient for refuting a Ḥadīth. Sunni scholars should have studied such narrations; if they were proven as authentic, they should have thrown `Umar's saying away; and if not, they should have again studied the other Ṣaḥābah's opinions all of which were contradictory to `Umar's.

(3) Factor of the Holy Prophet's Eternal Instruction

Even if we shun the truth and regard the Ḥadīths of the Ahl al-Bayt and the Sunni scholars who agree with them in this point—even if we regard such Ḥadīths as no more than personal opinions and, thus, the contradiction becomes between one of the Ṣaḥābah and the Ahl al-Bayt, we should refer the issue to the immortal instruction of the Holy Prophet that we must take the religion from the Ahl al-Bayt, not Ṣaḥābah. None can deny this fact because it has been mentioned in the famous Ḥadīth of the 'Two Weighty Things.'¹ Unmistakably, this authentic Ḥadīth implies that the sources of this religion are restrictedly the Holy Qur`ān and the Ahl al-Bayt.

(4) Factor of Inconsistency

`Umar's narration is basically too inconsistent to be believed. According to the narrations, `Umar identified the day of `Arafāt as Thursday or Friday! Al-Nassā'ī, in *al-Sunan* 5/251, has

¹ Aḥmad: *al-Musnad* 3/14, 3/17-26, 59 and 4/366, 371, al-Dārimī: *al-Sunan* 2/431, Muslim: *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 7/122, al-Ḥākim: *al-Mustadrak* 3/109, 148 and al-Bayhaqī: *al-Sunan* 2/148.

recorded that `Umar said that the Verse of Ikmāl al-Dīn was revealed on Thursday night while in 8/114 of the same book, he has recorded another narration confirming that `Umar said that the Verse was revealed on Friday:

It has been narrated on the authority of Ishāq ibn Ibrāhīm on the authority of `Abdullāh ibn Idrīs on the authority of his father on the authority of Qays ibn Muslim on the authority of Ṭāriq ibn Shihāb that a Jew said to `Umar, 'Had the Verse of Ikmāl al-Dīn been revealed to us, we would have certainly taken the day of its revelation as eternal festivity.' `Umar answered, 'I know the night at which the Verse was revealed. It was on Thursday night while we were with the Messenger of Allāh on `Arafāt.'

(5) Factor of Other Scholars' Opposing Opinion

As mentioned earlier, Sufyān Al-Thawrī, one of the master scholars of Sunnism, doubted that the day of `Arafāt was Friday. Yet, he was not the only one who adopted this opinion. It seems that Sufyān was sure that the day of `Arafāt was not Friday, but he had to say that he only doubt it so as to save himself from the fans of `Umar who rearranged the events of the Islāmic history so as to show that the day of `Arafāt was Friday.

(6) Factor of Historical Fact

Muslims celebrate the `Īd al-Adhā, not the day of `Arafāt. No single Muslim has ever claimed that the day of `Arafāt being formal `Īd and, accordingly, no single Muslim agrees with `Umar's odd opinion. In the conception of Wahhābīs, such an opinion must be decided as heresy whose final abode is Hellfire!

(7) Factor of `Umar's Contradictory Reports

According to al-Nassā`ī's report, the Jew who claimed that they would take the day on which the religion was perfected as an occasion of festivity must have definitely understood that the

Verse indicates the perfection of the religion and that `Umar admitted this understanding. As a consequence, `Umar must have agreed with the opinion of the Ahl al-Bayt, al-Saddī, Ibn `Abbās and many others who have confirmed that the Verse was the final. Meanwhile, `Umar, according to other 'authenticated' narrations, claimed that many rulings and Verses, such as that of Kalālah, debt and heritage, were revealed after the Verse of Ikmāl al-Dīn. As a rule, reports that oppose each other must be disregarded. From this cause, `Umar's sayings about the final Verses and the time of the revelation of the Verse of Ikmāl al-Dīn must be totally rejected.

(8) Factor of `Umar's Poor Reply

`Umar's answer was unconvincing for both the Jews and Muslims. If he wanted to say that the day was not taken as festivity (`Īd) because the Verse was revealed on a day of festivity—the day of `Arafāt, the Jew could wonder how the Lord of Muslims spoiled that festivity and caused it to fade away under another festivity; if `Umar wanted to say that the festivity of the perfection of the religion was merged with the festivity of `Arafāt and thus became a part of it, the Jew could wonder why Muslims, except the Shi'ah, do not celebrate that half-festivity or even refer to it; If `Umar wanted to say that such a glorious festivity was mixed with two festivities—Friday and the day of `Arafāt and thus it was consumed, the Jew could wonder why Almighty Allāh caused that festivity to thaw under these two festivities and disappear, and the Jew could also wonder who had the right to dissolve that festivity and why the ummah have not been aware about the clash of festivities while a Jew in the reign of `Umar discovered the issue and taught Muslims about it.

As a matter of fact, the question of the Jew is still unanswerable for `Umar and his fans. What `Umar did was that he only admitted the question and then began to shower personal opinions out of his own desire. He confessed that the day on which the Verse of Ikmāl al-Dīn was revealed was noble, great, determinative and historic because on that day, Almighty

Allah perfected the religion, completed His grace and chosen Islām for people as a religion and thus it must be celebrated just like the other `Īds. Finally, he admitted that had any other nation had such a day, they would have certainly taken it as festivity.

In view of `Umar's submission to the Jew's question, the day of the perfection of the religion must be, in the light of Sunni jurisprudence, taken as formal festivity, just like the `Īd al-Fiṭr, `Īd al-Aḍḥā and Friday.

A deep look in the question divulges that `Umar was engaged in two troubles regarding the Verse of Ikmāl al-Dīn; he contradicted himself when he identified the final revealed Verse and opened the unclosable door of Muslims' having the right to demand him as well as his adorers with the `Īd of the perfection of the religion, which is now celebrated by the Shī`ah alone.

As an Islāmic rule, the `Īds are divinely determined and it is impermissible for anyone to invent others. The Shī`ah, celebrating `Īd al-Ghadīr, have depended upon the Ahl al-Bayt who confirmed that the Holy Prophet had declared that day as doctrinal festivity for Muslims and declared that Archangel Gabriel had told him that past nations used to betake the day on which their Prophets nominated their successors as festivity.

What was then `Umar's evidence on supporting the Jew's claim and accepting that the day of the perfection of the religion must be taken as `Īd? If his evidence was his own opinion, it should be then a sort of heresy; and if he depended upon a word or confirmation that he had received from the Holy Prophet, then why would he conceal it? Except the Shī`ah, no other Muslim have referred to the `Īd al-Ghadīr.

(9) Factor of Logic

al-Nassā`ī and other reporters have recorded that the Holy Prophet led the congregational Ḍuhr (midday) and `Aṣr (afternoon) Prayers on the day of `Arafāt; therefore, had `Umar's claim that the Verse of Ikmāl al-Dīn was revealed on

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Friday been true, the Holy Prophet would have certainly led the Friday, not the Ḍuhr and `Aṣr, Prayer. In addition, no single narration communicates that the Holy Prophet offered the Friday Prayer on that day. From this cause, we may conclude that al-Nassā`ī, unlike the others, agrees with Sufyān al-Thawrī and disagrees with `Umar; in *al-Sunan* 1/290, he gathers the narrations reporting that the Holy Prophet offered the Ḍuhr and `Aṣr Prayers together on the day of `Arafāt. Abū-Dāwūd, in *al-Sunan* 1/429, records similar reports.

It may be cited that the Friday Prayer is canceled in journeys. Sunni jurisprudents have disagreeing opinions in this point. Provided that the day of `Arafāt during the Farewell Ḥajj was Friday and that the Holy Prophet canceled the Friday prayer, thousands of Muslims who were present in the Farewell Ḥajj must have definitely referred to this law.

Ibn Ḥazm, in *al-Muḥallā* 7/272, has done his best to find a suitable answer, but he has had to fabricate that the Ḍuhr Prayer is as same as the Friday Prayer! He has begged the question and rejected the other reports for they contradicted `Umar's saying.

With reference to the Holy Prophet's journey to Makkah that began on Thursday, 4th of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah, the narrations that Ibn Ḥazm has refuted because they oppose `Umar's saying are more acceptable. The month of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah began on Monday; therefore, the day of `Arafāt must have been Tuesday and `Īd al-Adḥā Wednesday. On that account, Friday must have been the twelfth of Dhu'l-Ḥijjah.

(10) Factor of Other Events

Many Sunni narrations have confirmed that the Holy Prophet departed life eighty or eighty-one days after the revelation of the Verse of Ikmāl al-Dīn.¹ Such narrations oppose the claim

¹ Al-Suyūṭī: *al-Durr al-Manthūr* 2/257-9 [as quoted from al-Bayhaqī: *Shu`ab al-Īmān*], Ibn Ḥajar: *Talkhiṣ al-Ḥubayr* 7/3 [as quoted from al-Ṭabarānī: *al-Mu`jam al-Kabīr* No. 12984 and al-Ṭabarī: *Tafsīr* 4/106], al-

that the day of `Arafāt was Friday. They have also confirmed that the Holy Prophet departed life on the twelfth of Rabī` al-Awwal and the day of `Arafāt was the ninth of Dhu'l-Hijjah; therefore, this period is more than ninety days. Sunni scholars should now either agree upon our narrations that confirm that the Holy Prophet departed life on the twenty-eighth of Şafar or agree upon our narrations that confirm that the Verse of Ikmāl al-Dīn was revealed on the eighteenth of Dhu'l-Hijjah—the day of Ghadir.

`Umar's claim is also contrary to the many Sunni narrations that confirm that the Verse of Ikmāl al-Dīn was revealed on Monday.¹

In any event, we, the Shī`ah, do not admit that the Holy Prophet lived for eighty days after the revelation of the Verse of Ikmāl al-Dīn. We believe, according to our authenticated reports, that the Verse was revealed on the eighteenth of Dhu'l-Hijjah and the Holy Prophet departed life on 29th of Şafar and the period is thus about seventy days only. We also believe that the Verse was revealed on Thursday or Friday and the Holy Prophet's Mission commenced on Monday and Imām `Alī prayed with him on Tuesday and he died on Monday too... etc.

Many reports have recorded the Holy Prophet's movement from al-Madīnah and they all are contradictory to the reports identifying Friday as the day of `Arafāt. According to Shiite authenticated narrations, the Holy Prophet began his journey to Makkah on Thursday, Dhu'l-Qa'dah 26, which agrees to the fact that the Verse of Ikmāl al-Dīn was revealed on the eighteenth of Dhu'l-Hijjah. On that account, Monday was the first of Dhu'l-Hijjah, the Holy Prophet arrived in Makkah on

Qurṭubī: *Tafsīr* 20/223 and al-Rāzī: *Tafsīr* 3/523. See also al-Amīnī: *al-Ghadīr* 1/230.

¹ Al-Bayhaqī: *Dalā'il al-Nubuwwah* 7/233 and al-Haythamī: *Majma' al-Zawā'id* 1/196.

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Thursday,¹ the day of 'Arafāt was Tuesday and the day of Ghadīr was Thursday.²

Supporting the Ahl al-Bayt reports, many Sunni reports have indicated that the Holy Prophet used to travel on Thursdays and seldom traveled on other days.³ Jābir has narrated that the Holy Prophet's journey began four days before the end of Dhu'l-Qa'dah.⁴ Al-Bukhārī, as well as many other reference books of Ḥadīth, has recorded many narrations confirming that the Holy Prophet's journey to Makkah began five days before the end of Dhu'l-Qa'dah.⁵ Besides, ordinary journeys from al-Madinah to Makkah take eight days in maximum; the Holy Prophet took the shortest way, which was about 400 kilometers; his companions and he were so speedy that some of them complained about fatigue and he instructed them to tie the ached feet; no single narration has ever mentioned that he stopped during that journey; rather many narrations have confirmed that he, during his journey back to al-Madinah, stopped at many places, such as Ghadīr Khumm; according to narrations, he arrived in Makkah on the fourth of Dhu'l-Hijjah—all these facts support the Ahl al-Bayt's reports. In due course, the narrations reporting that he left al-Madinah on the twenty fifth of Dhu'l-Qa'dah⁶ should be thus discredited because they made the journey take about ten days.

The previous points show the real value of the narrations that stood against the Ahl al-Bayt's opinion and their adopters have tried their best to make the incident take place on Saturday so

¹ Shaykh al-Kulaynī: *al-Kāfi* 4/245.

² Al-Ḥurr al-'Āmilī: *Wasā'il al-Shi'ah* 9/318, al-Ṭabarī: *al-Mustarshid* 119.

³ Al-Bukhārī: *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 4/6, Abū-Dāwūd: *al-Sunan* 1/586 and Ibn Sayyid al-Nās: *'Uyūn al-Athar* 2/341. See also al-Majlisī: *Bihār al-Anwār* 16/272.

⁴ Ibn Kathīr: *al-Sīrah* 4/217.

⁵ Al-Bukhārī: *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 2/146, 184, 187 and 4/7, al-Nassā'ī: *al-Sunan* 1/154, 208 and 5/121, Muslim: *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 4/32, Ibn Mājah: *al-Sunan* 2/993 and al-Bayhaqī: *al-Sunan* 5/33.

⁶ Al-'Aynī: *'Umdat al-Qāri*, al-Qaṣṭalānī: *Irshād al-Sāri*, Ibn Ḥazm: *al-Muḥallā* and al-Ḥalabī: *al-Sīrah al-Ḥalabiyyah* 3/257.

that the first of Dhu'l-Hijjah would be Thursday and the day of 'Arafāt would be Friday for nothing but supporting 'Umar's saying. Yet, they have gone beyond limits overlooking the other narrations reporting that 'Umar himself identified Thursday as the day of 'Arafāt.¹ If these narrations were true, Dhu'l-Qa'dah must have been thirty days.²

Trying to defend this opinion, Ibn Kathīr says in *al-Sirah* 4/217:

Aḥmad has narrated on the authority of Anas that the Holy Prophet led the Duhr Prayer in his Masjid in al-Madinah and the 'Aṣr Prayer, in the shortened form, in Dhu'l-Ḥalifah.

In view of that, the Holy Prophet began his journey on Friday and Ibn Ḥazm's claim that the journey began on Thursday is baseless. Indisputably, the first of Dhu'l-Hijjah was Thursday as has been proven through uninterrupted and unanimous narrations confirming that the day of 'Arafāt, which is the ninth of Dhu'l-Hijjah, was Friday. Had the Holy Prophet's journey been started on Thursday, the 24th, six nights of Dhu'l-Qa'dah would remain. Yet, Ibn 'Abbās, 'Ā'ishah and Jābir have asserted that the journey began five nights before the end of Dhu'l-Qa'dah, and this should never be Friday because Anas says that the journey started on Saturday. The narrator miscalculated when he thought that Dhu'l-Qa'dah would be thirty days; rather it was only twenty-nine days that year. So, Wednesday was not accounted with Dhu'l-Qa'dah. The night before Thursday was the first of Dhu'l-Hijjah... This prognosis should be considered since there is no other opinion.

¹ For instance, see Ibn Sa'd: *al-Ṭabaqāt* 2/124, *al-Wāqidi: al-Maghāzī* 2/1089, *al-Ḥalabi: al-Sirah al-Ḥalabiyyah* (the margin of) 3/3, *al-Ṭabari: 3/148*, and *al-Dhahbi: Tārīkh* 2/701.

² The Hijri year is lunar and each month begins at the approximate new moon; therefore, months may be either thirty or twenty nine days.

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It seems that Ibn Kathīr has not been sure enough about his prognosis because he had to notice the uncertainty arisen by `Umar, Sufyān al-Thawri and al-Nassā`i. He also had to regard Ibn Ḥazm's emphasis that the Holy Prophet's journey started on Thursday. He also begged the question attempting to prove that the Holy Prophet's journey to Makkah started on Thursday. He, first of all, has confirmed that the Holy Prophet halted on `Arafāt on Friday while he should have proven his confirmation. He has also cited the narration of Anas that the Holy Prophet led the Ḍuhr and `Aṣr, not Friday, Prayers as his evidence while this very narration supports the Ahl al-Bayt's opinion that the Holy Prophet's journey started on Thursday.

At length, supporting the narration of Anas has been accurate, it does not oppose the fact that the journey started on Thursday; rather it confirms that the Holy Prophet put the iḥrām (uniform of Ḥajj) on after he had led the `Aṣr Prayer in Dhu'l-Ḥalīfah and kept on his journey.

To sum it up, innumerable difficulties stand in the face of admitting the opinion that the Verse of Ikmāl al-Dīn was revealed on the day of `Arafāt, and these difficulties, which lie in the form, date and timing of the narrations, oblige the fair researchers not to adopt them. As a result, the Ahl al-Bayt's opinion disables any opposite for a powerless opposite is ineffective.

In conclusion, all Muslims have agreed that the day on which the Verse of Ikmāl al-Dīn was revealed is a great divine festivity and in the conception of the Ahl al-Bayt, it is, as proved by logic and manifest evidences, the most remarkable Islāmic festivity. The weekly Islāmic festivity is involved in the Friday Prayer, the `Īd al-Fiṭr is for the accomplishment of the fasting, the `Īd al-Aḍḥā is for the accomplishment of the Ḥajj and the `Īd al-Ghadīr is for the completion of the divine grace and the perfection of the religion. In Sunni conception, such completion was achieved by the revelation and perfection of the religious rulings without nominating a leader; but in Shiite conception, it was achieved by the perfection of the religious

rulings and the completion of the divine grace that settled the problem of the leadership and nominated the Imāms of the Ahl al-Bayt as the leaders of the ummah up to the Day of Resurrection.

So long as all Muslims have agreed on considering the day of the perfection of the religion as formal festivity, why have Muslim chiefs, scholars and intellects accepted to neglect such a great `Īd?

Sunni scholars should respond to our invitation to study the legal and doctrinal faces of this 'wronged' `Īd so as to revive it in Muslims' lives in a form corresponding to the beliefs and jurisprudence of each sect.





مرکز تحقیقات کامپیوتر علوم اسلامی

THE VERSE OF SĀ`IL

In the Name of Allāh, the Beneficent, the Merciful

One demanding, demanded the chastisement which must befall.

The unbelievers there is none to avert it.

From Allāh, the Lord of the ways of Ascent. (70/1-3)

EVENTS STIMULATED BY PEOPLE OF QURAYSH

To cite the exegesis of the Verse of Sā`il (the demanding one), it is necessary to remark a deal of serious events that cropped up during the last days of the Holy Prophet's lifetime. Some of them have been proven to be provoked by people of Quraysh who seem to be the creators of the others according to many indications putting a finger of accusation at them.

First event

We have already presented that many of the Qurayshite chiefs confessed that they tried to assassinate the Holy Prophet during the Battle of Hunayn.

Second event

They again attempted to assassinate the Holy Prophet in al-`Aqabah when he was back from the Battle of Tabūk. This attempt, given effect by twenty hypocrites, was planned so properly. The executors knew that the Holy Prophet would take the mountainside alone that night while the army would take the other. They planned to waylay aloft that mountain and as soon as he would reach the narrowest point, they would throw rocks as many as possible so that they would hit him. Then, they would run away and hide among Muslims' groups. They aimed

at seizing the Holy Prophet's authority while they would show their deepest grief for him. The Lord, however, respited them. When they were about to throw rocks, Archangel Gabriel lit that mountain that the Holy Prophet could see and recognize them. He called them by names. Hudhayfah ibn al-Yamān and `Ammār ibn Yāsir could also see and recognize them. The Holy Prophet then made them the witnesses on that plot. The hypocrites had nothing to do other than descending the mountain as speedy as possible to hide among Muslims.

Why did the Holy Prophet hide their names?

There is no reason for the Holy Prophet's having hidden their names except that they were Qurayshites and celebrities; and to declare their names would certainly lead to punishing them; and to punish them would cause danger of apostasy; and to apostatize from Islām would mean that they would convince some of the Arab tribes to mutiny claiming that Muhammad (a.s) had given everything to his relatives and deprived people of Quraysh and the Arabs; and to arouse such a claim would create an ill reputation of Islām since it would be said that the Holy Prophet disputed his believing companions and fought them; and to invent such an ill reputation would lead to new wars the results of which would not be better than the earlier ones. Hence, the divine solution is to keep the matter hidden as long as those men admitted Islām.

Because the narrations that recorded the plot of al-`Aqabah named famous Qurayshite personalities, the pro-Quraysh Hadīthists have had to suspect them although most of them have had to regarded Ibn Jumay` and the other narrators who mentioned the names of the planners and the executors of that plot as trustworthy. In addition, Sunni reference books of Hadīth have recorded that Hudhayfah and `Ammār were frequently asked by Qurayshite chiefs whether they had seen them on that night with the executors of the plot or not and that such chiefs attempted to gain the acquittal of hypocrisy from Hudhayfah and `Ammār. The same reference books have also recorded many narrations asserting that people could identify

the hypocrites, after their death, by noticing whether Hudhayfah would offer the ritual Funeral Prayer for them or not. Finally, they have narrated that Hudhayfah did not offer the Funeral Prayer on any of the Qurayshite chiefs!

Third event

The story of Sūrah of Taḥrīm implies that one of the Holy Prophet's wives violated his instructions of concealing the news he had recounted to her exclusively and, backed by her well-wisher, worked for people of Quraysh against her husband. The Lord, again, informed His Prophet about divulging the secret and the Holy Prophet conveyed this divine information to her as well as her well-wisher who was also one his wives. Thenceforth, the Holy Qur'ān revealed her secret and the intentions of those for whom she had worked and threatened a punishment and cited as examples for them the wives of Prophet Noah and Prophet Lot who were atheists because they had betrayed their husbands and thus would be in Hellfire.

As usual, the pro-Quraysh Hadithists have distorted the story making it a simple family affair respecting the wives' jealousy and some slight flaws with the Holy Prophet!

They want Muslims to close their eyes before the clear-cut Verses of Sūrah of Taḥrīm that declare the occurrence of a striking danger on the Holy Prophet and the Divine Mission and the enlisting of a great army for defying the situation. Almighty Allāh says, "If you both turn to Allāh for indeed your hearts are already inclined; and if you back each other against him, then surely Allāh it is Who is his Guardian, and Gabriel and the believers that do good, and the angels after that are the aiders. 66/4."

Towards whom were their hearts inclined? For whom did they back each other against the Holy Prophet? What sort of family affairs was that which incited such a great army that Almighty Allāh uses only in cases of ultimate emergency?

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Ibn `Abbās used to interpret 'inclined' into 'deviated.' On that account, two of the Holy Prophet's wives needed to renew their converting to Islām!

Fourth event

For a whole month, the Holy Prophet deserted his wives and confined himself in the house of Mariah the Coptic on the outskirts. Consequently, rumor has it that he would divorce all his wives.

The pro-Quraysh Ḥadīthists have described the matter as a personal affair although it had preoccupied the Holy Prophet, the Divine Revelation and Muslims. The reason, according to their narrations, was the usual demands of wives away from the Islāmic issues that occupied the political area to excess and engaged the Qurayshite chiefs in particular.

Fifth event

People of Quraysh worked as hard as possible for offending against `Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib's personality making the Holy Prophet very much angry. He defended `Alī and honored his personality in the same way as he had always done in war, peace, journey and residence. Yet, the matter increased in the last period of his lifetime when such campaigns against Imām `Alī increased causing the Holy Prophet to deliver many sermons in many instances to declare the merits of Imām `Alī (a.s) and regard anyone who would hurt him as misled and atheist.

The overwhelming story of Buraydah al-Aslamī that has found itself a place in the best regardable pages of each and every Sunni reference book of Ḥadīth unveils clearly the organized plans that people of Quraysh executed against Imām `Alī and due to which the Holy Prophet reproached everyone who would criticize Imām `Alī and declaring that he would be the leader of this ummah after him and anyone who detests or disobeys him would be indisputably hypocrite. This event shows how much malice and envy the Qurayshite chiefs bore against Imām `Alī.

Sixth event

The Qurayshite chiefs precluded people from recording the Holy Prophet's words and deeds during his lifetime. People used to record the Holy Qur'ān as soon as it was revealed and the Holy Prophet ordered to put the fresh Qur'ānic texts between the minbar and the wall where papers and ink were available for anyone to record.

Imām 'Alī (a.s) used to write down all the Qur'ānic texts and the Ḥadīths after the Holy Prophet would order him to write. Others, such as 'Abdullāh ibn 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ the young Qurayshite, also used to write down the Ḥadīths; but some of the Qurayshite chiefs prevented them from recording the Ḥadīth because they knew that they would face a horrible hazard if the Ḥadīths praising the Ahl al-Bayt and the Hāshimites and cursing the Qurayshite chiefs would reach the hands of the coming generations. Yet, some of such chiefs used to record the Jewish culture and attend their classes every Saturday!¹

Sunni reference books of Ḥadīth have confessed that 'Abdullāh ibn 'Amr complained before the Holy Prophet that people of Quraysh warned him against recording the Ḥadīths. Abū-Dāwūd, in *al-Sunan* 2/176, records the following:

It has been narrated that 'Abdullāh ibn 'Amr said, "People of Quraysh told me not to record every single word said by the Holy Prophet since he was an ordinary mortal who may be erring when enraged. I ceased the recording and told the Holy Prophet about their words. He pointed at his mouth and said, "Record every thing. By the Prevailing of my soul I swear that nothing but truth comes out of my mouth."²

¹ An expansive documentation of this fact has been presented in 'Alī al-Kūrānī: *Tadwīn al-Qur'ān*.

² Aḥmad: *al-Musnad* 2/192, 215 and al-Ḥākim: *al-Mustadrak* 1/105 and 3/528.

Seventh event

An attempt to assassinate the Holy Prophet was planned on his way back from the Farewell Hajj at Arshā. The details of this plot was similar to great extent to the plot that was executed after the battle of Tabūk and, again, the divine revelation unveiled it.

Eighth event

People of Quraysh escalated their disapproval of the Holy Prophet's activities to direct the leadership of his family. Some of them objected openly and shamelessly and demanded with positions of leadership for the other clans of Quraysh. However, the Holy Prophet rejected all such demands because he had nothing to do about this divine directive.¹

Ninth event

In his final ailment, the Holy Prophet order to enlist an army to be joined by all the Qurayshite chiefs except the Hāshimites and nominated Usāmah ibn Zayd as the commander. He then ordered Usāmah, the young African Muslim, to advance towards Mu'tah in Jordan to fight against the Romans. The Holy Prophet, however, wanted to strengthen the Islāmic State and to revenge for the martyrs of the Battle of Mu'tah. Yet, these were the open aims, while the actual aims were to take the opposers of Imām `Alī's leadership away from al-Madinah.

Usāmah and his army camped out of al-Madinah and the Qurayshite chiefs showed reluctance to join that army so that they would fail the Holy Prophet's plan. They also worked on detaining as great numbers of the army as possible. Finally, they criticized the Holy Prophet for nominating Usāmah for commandment. Hence, they wanted to interrupt the course of the army so that they would gain more time. As a reply, the Holy Prophet delivered a speech emphasizing on expediting the

¹ Sharif Al-Murtadā: *Tanzīh al-Anbiyā`* 167.

march of Usāmah's army and declaring that Almighty Allāh and he would curse those who would fall behind.

Tenth event

People of Quraysh decided to stop frankly in the face of the Holy Prophet to preclude him from handing the leadership of the ummah officially over to the Ahl al-Bayt. `Umar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb, the new chief of Quraysh, volunteered to carry on the decision. In his last hour, the Holy Prophet summoned the chiefs of Quraysh and Anṣār and asked them to fetch him a paper and a pen to record for them an official document saving his nation against deviation forever. As he realized that this document would mean nominating `Alī and his household as the only leaders of the ummah, `Umar stood in the face of the Holy Prophet shouting, 'No, we do not need your document and your security against deviation. We also do not want your traditions and people. Allāh's Book is sufficient for us; and it is we, neither you nor your Ahl al-Bayt, who should interpret it.'

Unfortunately, the attendants, from people of Quraysh and the deceived Anṣār, supported `Umar and shouted before their Prophet, 'We support `Umar's saying from top to bottom.' Hence, a discrepancy broke out while the ailed Prophet was looking. A group supported the Holy Prophet's saying and the others supported `Umar's. Then the latter group shouted, 'Do not give him anything! Let him not record anything.'

It is most likely that Archangel Gabriel was attendant for he used to visit the Holy Prophet recurrently these days. The Holy Prophet might have sought his advice and the Archangel instructed him that he had accomplished his mission completely and the best solution for such a discrepancy would be to dismiss all of them so as to impede the apostasy of Quraysh. Hence, the Holy Prophet said, 'Leave me! It is inappropriate to issue disputation before a Prophet! And the pains that I am suffering are easier than what you are dragging me to.'

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This story is above dispute because al-Bukhārī has recorded it in six positions of his *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*. Ibn 'Abbās called this incident 'the calamity of Thursday.'

Eleventh event

Owing to harsh fever, the Holy Prophet fainted for minutes and then regained his consciousness. That was during his final ailment. He could understand that some of those around him intended to pour a drug in his mouth when he fainted. When he regained his consciousness, he ordered them not to give him any medicine when he would faint. On the contrary, as soon as he fainted, they poured a medicine in his mouth. As he tried to vomit it, they forced him to drink. When he regained consciousness, he reprimanded them and ordered all of them, except the Hāshimites, to have from that medicine. According to narrations, all of them had to have some of that 'medicine'.

Reference books of Ḥadīth have called this incident 'forcing the Holy Prophet to have the medicine.' It is important to study this incident carefully for it might have been an attempt to poison the Holy Prophet!

The presentation of the previous events is the introduction to the interpretation of the Verse of Sā'il. As a matter of fact, each event is worthy of thorough study since the source of all of them was people of Quraysh taking in consideration their close relationship with the Jews.

NEW PREPARATIONS AFTER THE DAY OF GHADIR

The caravan of the Holy Prophet and the Imām left Ghadīr Khumm towards al-Madīnah. While the Holy Prophet's heart was calmed, people of Quraysh were so disturbed out of their spite and wickedness for they would never relax unless they would exercise the painful agony.

During many events in the Farewell Ḥajj, in Makkah, on 'Arafāt, the three sermons in Minā and the sermon of al-Khayf Masjid, Almighty Allāh protected his Prophet as promised in

the Verse of 'Iṣmah. Finally, Almighty Allāh ordered Muslims to stop in a place under burning midday so that the Holy Prophet would raise 'Alī ibn Abī-Ṭālib's hand as high as possible and declare, 'This man will be your leader after me. After him, al-Ḥasan, al-Ḥusayn and nine Imāms from al-Ḥusayn's offspring will be your leaders.' In this very situation, the divine promise of protection manifested strongly. Almighty Allāh shut the mouths of people of Quraysh so that they would not oppose or object and opened their mouths with words of agreement only, 'We admit that you have conveyed your Lord's messages completely and have been excellent Messenger. We will surely obey.' Afterwards, they hurried to Imām 'Alī's tent to congratulate him on the leadership and showed compliments when Almighty Allāh revealed, 'This day have I perfected for you your religion and completed on you My favor and chosen for you Islām as a religion.' They then lent their ears to Ḥassān ibn Thābit's poem describing the Holy Prophet's conveyance of the Lord's instruction of nominating Imām 'Alī for the next leadership.

The ceremonies of offering congratulations to Imām 'Alī lasted to night and only could darkness stop Muslims' gathering before his tent for offering congratulations; therefore, the Holy Prophet had to pass that night in Ghadīr Khumm—Ghadīr of Imāmate. After the Fajr -dawn- Prayer, he moved. Other narrations affirm that the Holy Prophet had to settle for two days there.

This was the first divine method of protecting the Holy Prophet. The second method, however, was the divine punishment. Like the Jews during their Prophet's reigns, people of Quraysh had to counter the divine punishment.

STONES FROM HEAVEN UPON THE SPOKESMEN OF QURAYSH

Sunni and Shiite reference books of Ḥadīth have named those who objected to the Holy Prophet's nominating Imām 'Alī for leadership in Ghadīr Khumm. Yet, some narrations have made clerical errors in some of the names because such divine

punishment fell on more than one occasion. Those inflicted by heavenly stones or punishment were Jābir ibn al-Naḍr ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Kildah al-'Abdarī, al-Ḥārith ibn al-Nu'mān al-Fihri, 'Amr ibn 'Utbah al-Makhzūmī, al-Naḍr ibn al-Ḥārith al-Fihri, al-Ḥārith ibn 'Amr al-Fihri, al-Nu'mān ibn al-Ḥārith the Jew, al-Nu'mān ibn al-Mundhir al-Fihri, 'Amr ibn al-Ḥārith al-Fihri, a man from the tribe of Taym, a Bedouin man and a Bedouin man from Najd who belonged to the tribe of Ja'far ibn Kilāb ibn Rabī'ah.

Save the Bedouin and the Jew ones, all the others were from Quraysh for Anṣār had never objected to any privilege that the Holy Prophet gave to his progeny though they, later on, showed disloyalty to the Ahl al-Bayt.

The incident in abstract is that one, or more, of those persons protested against the Holy Prophet's nominating Imām 'Alī for the coming leadership and accused him of passing his personal caprices in the form of divine commandments. Although the Holy Prophet asserted that the decision had been issued by the Lord, that man was not convinced. He left the place angrily and asked the Lord to rain him with a heavenly stone if the matter was indeed His. The Lord inflicted him with a heavenly stone that killed him or inflicted him with a heavenly flame that burned him.

From this incident, we understand that the Lord used a threatening style with people of Quraysh for protecting His Messenger against their expected apostasy. Consequently, they understood that failure would be the decisive result of any political combat with the Holy Prophet and that they should wait until he would die. This incident reveals a number of issues to be hereinafter presented:

(I) SUNNI REFERENCE BOOKS OF ḤADĪTH RECORD THE INCIDENT

Not only have Shiite reference books of Ḥadīth recorded the incident of the stones from heaven, but also many Sunni reference books have documented it. Abū-'Ubayd al-Harawī

have been the first to record the incident in his book entitled *Gharīb al-Qur'ān*.

Ibn Shahrāshūb, in *Manāqib Āli Abī-Ṭālib* 2/240 has recorded the following:

It has been narrated on the authority of Abū-'Ubayd, al-Tha'labī, al-Naqqāsh, Sufyān ibn 'Uyaynah, al-Rāzī, al-Qizwīnī, al-Nisāpūrī, al-Ṭabrasī and al-Ṭūsī that when the news of the Holy Prophet's having conveyed his Lord's commandment in Ghadīr Khumm spread out among people, al-Ḥārith ibn al-Nu'mān al-Fihrī (or Jābir ibn al-Nadr ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Kildah al-'Abdarī, according to Abū-'Ubayd's report) came to the Holy Prophet and said, "Muḥammad: You have ordered us to declare that there is no god but Allāh and Muḥammad being his Messenger, to offer the prayers, to fast, to undertake the Ḥajj and to pay the Zakāt. All these that we have admitted were not sufficient for you until you raised your cousin from the arm and preceded him to us saying, 'Alī shall be the master of him who has regarded me as his master.' Is this your own desire or was it according to Allāh's instruction?"

The Holy Prophet answered, "I swear by Allāh the only Lord that it was certainly Allāh's instruction." Jābir then turned his face towards his animal saying, "O Allāh! If Muḥammad's words have been true, then rain us with a heavenly stone or inflict a painful chastisement upon us." Before he could reach his animal, the Lord rained him with a stone that fell on the head and went out from the anus and he thus was killed. Consequently, Almighty Allāh revealed the Verse of Sā'il.

Some Shiite scholars¹ have listed more than thirty names of Sunni scholars who recorded this incident, such as al-Harawī,

¹ Sayyid Ḥamid Ḥusayn al-Lakahnuwī: *'Abaqāt al-Anwār*, Shaykh al-Aminī: *al-Ghadīr*, al-Mar'ashī: *Iḥqāq al-Ḥaq* and al-Milānī: *Nafahāt al-Azhār*.

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Abū-'Ubayd (died in AH 223), in *Gharīb al-Qur'ān*, al-Baghdādī, Abū-Bakr al-Naqqāsh al-Mawṣilī (died in AH 351), in his book of *Tafsīr*, al-Tha'labī, Abū-Ishāq al-Nisāpūrī (died in AH 427), in *al-Kashf wa'l-Bayān*, al-Ḥasakānī, al-Ḥākim Abu'l-Qāsim, in *Adā' Ḥaqq al-Muwālāt*, al-Qurṭubī, Abū-Bakr Yaḥyā (died in AH 567), in his book of *Tafsīr*, Abu'l Muẓaffar, Shams al-Dīn—the grandson of Ibn al-Jawzī (died in AH 645), in *al-Tadhkirah*, al-Ḥamawīnī, Shaykh al-Islām (died in AH 722), in *Farā'id al-Simṭayn*, al-'Imādī, Abu'l-Sa'ūd (died in AH 982), in his book of *Tafsīr* 8/292, al-Shirbīnī, Shams al-Dīn of Cairo (died in AH 977), in *al-Sirāj al-Munīr* 4/364, al-Ḥalabī, Burhān al-Dīn 'Alī (died in AH 1044), in *al-Sīrah al-Ḥalabiyyah* 3/302, al-Ḥafnī, Shams al-Dīn (died in AH 1181), in *Sharḥ al-Jāmi' al-Ṣaghīr* 2/387 and al-Zarqānī, Abū-'Alī (died in AH 1122), in *Sharḥ al-Mawāhib al-Ludaniyyah*.

(2) SŪRAH OF MA'ĀRIJ WAS REVEALED IN MAKKAH OR AL-MADĪNAH

The general sense of the Verses of Sūrah of Ma'ārij, up to Verse 36, seems to be revealed in al-Madīnah for it comprises laws similar to those mentioned in Sūrah of al-Nūr and Sūrah of al-Mu'minūn, while the rest seem to be revealed in Makkah for they refer to questions of belief and the Hereafter. In due course, it is difficult to discern the place of its revelation. We should thus regard, yet presumably, the second part of the Sūrah as revealed in Makkah and the first in al-Madīnah, but it was preceded thereafter. The text of the Sūrah is the decisive criterion. In *Sharḥ al-Akḥbār* 1/241, al-Nu'mān has narrated on the authority of Imām al-Ṣādiq (a.s) that it was revealed in Makkah to show the manners of those who dissented the leadership of Imām 'Alī. According to a narration recorded in Shaykh al-Kulaynī's *al-Kāfi* 5/450, the Sūrah was revealed in Makkah. Be it revealed in Makkah or al-Madīnah, the chastisement mentioned in the Verse of Sā'il refers to the stones of heaven that were inflicted upon the man who objected to the nomination of Imām 'Alī as the leader of the ummah. Moreover, the stones that inflicted al-'Abdarī and al-Fihri and their likes was a part of the threatening chastisement most of

which will be sent down in order to pave the way for the advent of Imām al-Mahdī.¹

(3) IS THE CHASTISEMENT WORLDLY OR IMMORTAL?

Apart from the various interpretations and narrations of the Sūrah, it seems that it refers to the chastisement of the world to come. It is also empty of any condemn against the demanding one who may be a suppliant who seeks the falling of such chastisement. For al-Qurṭubī, the 'demanding one' in the Verse is Prophet Noah or Prophet Muḥammad (a.s)! Therefore, it may be asked how Sunni and Shiite scholars have concluded that the Verse refers to worldly chastisement and the 'demanding one' wanted to challenge and belie. The answer is lexicological. The Arabic item '*sa`ala bi*' refers to asking about a matter in a form of challenge and indicates that the 'demanding one' has already heard of such a worldly chastisement from the Holy Prophet who used to threat and forewarn; therefore, he demanded with it and the Lord answered him through these Verses. Because the chastisement of the world to come is more important, the Lord has emphasized on it without neglecting the worldly one. The Sūrah states, 'O you who are deriding the chastisement against which our Messenger forewarned you! Surely whatever he has menaced will befall, be in this world or the Hereafter. Nothing will guard the atheists against it. Hence, you are advised to believe in Allāh so that you will avoid that chastisement, which will not inflict the believers.'

The second Verse negates the possibility of averting that chastisement away from the unbelievers. In other words, it will inevitably inflict the unbelievers for they definitely deserve it and will also inflict those who pretended to be believers whose repentance may save them from it.

¹ 'Alī al-Kūrānī: *Mu`jam Aḥādīth al-Imām al-Mahdī* 5/458 as quoted from 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm al-Qummī: *Tafsīr* 2/385 and Abū-Zaynab al-Nu`mānī: *al-Ghaybah* 272.

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It is not unlikely that 'the unbelievers' mentioned in the Verse stands for those who disbelieve in Almighty Allāh's marvels or graces.

Sunni scholars have fallen in contradiction because they argued that the chastisement mentioned in the Verse being the Hereafter that will inflict the unbelievers only and, meanwhile, they argued that it refers to the worldly chastisement that inflicted al-Naḍr ibn al-Ḥārith al-'Abdarī who was killed during the Battle of Badr. At any rate, they have always endeavored to make any chastisement mentioned in the Holy Qur`ān stand for the chastisement of the Hereafter and, sometimes, they dedicated it to the Jews and Christians so as to take it away from people of Quraysh and the hypocrites and prove that Almighty Allāh did not respond to His Messenger's invocations against people of Quraysh. Moreover, they accused the Holy Prophet that he was reproached by the Lord because he had called down evil upon people of Quraysh!¹

(4) SUNNI JUDGMENT ON THE ḤADĪTH OF STONES FROM HEAVEN

Sunni scholars have had different opinions regarding the Ḥadīth; some of them, like Abū-'Ubayd, al-Tha`labī and al-Ḥamawīnī, have accepted and preferred it to the other opinions while others have recorded it indirectly. A third group have recorded it but preferred the other opinions. At any rate, all of them have accepted it yet in different degrees. Hence, Sunni scholars have to accept it because master scholars, such as Abū-'Ubayd and Sufyān ibn 'Uyaynah, have admitted it. Al-Albānī, whom is regarded as the leading Ḥadīthist in this age, has decided the authenticity of any narration that is accepted by two or three master scholars.

Al-Shawkānī, in *Fath al-Qadīr* 5/352, says that the demanding one intended in the Verse was al-Naḍr ibn al-Ḥārith who said,

¹ Al-Bukhārī: *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 5/199, Muslim: *al-Ṣaḥīḥ* 8/129 and al-Fakhr al-Rāzī: *Tafsīr* 3/122.

'O Allāh! If this is the truth sent from Thee, then rain us with a heavenly stone or inflict painful chastisement upon us.' He was killed during the Battle of Badr. Other scholars have referred to Abū-Jahl or al-Ḥārith ibn al-Nu'mān al-Fihri.

Shams al-Dīn al-Shirbīnī, in *'Abaqāt al-Anwār* 7/398, says that various opinions have been cited about the demanding one; Ibn 'Abbās says that he was al-Naḍr ibn al-Ḥārith and others say that he was al-Ḥārith ibn al-Nu'mān.

Abū-'Ubayd, in *Nafaḥāt al-Azhār* 7/291, confirms that the Verse was revealed after the declaration of Ghadīr and the demanding one was Jābir ibn al-Naḍr ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Kildah al-'Abdarī

Al-Qurtubī, in *Tafsīr* 18/278, presents the various opinions respecting the interpretation of the Verse of Sā'il among which is the narration involved. This is in fact sufficient evidence on the existence of the Holy Prophet's declaration of the leadership of Imām 'Alī. Hence, we, the Shi'ah, have to appreciate this situation and thank them for it because they admit our claim.

It is thus unanimous that the demand in the Verse actually occurred and that al-Naḍr challenged the Holy Prophet regarding the divinely commissioned leadership of Imām 'Alī. Yet, the Verse that indicates the descending of the heavenly stone was revealed together with the Verses discussing the rulings of spoils, which was revealed after the Battle of Badr.¹ On that account, it is irrational to accept that the Lord's replication to al-Naḍr's demand was revealed in Makkah while the demand itself was revealed afterwards in al-Madīnah after the demise of al-Naḍr.

The saying of the demanding one –that is, 'O Allāh! If this is being the right sent from Thee, then rain us with a heavenly stone or inflict painful chastisement upon us,'- is more

¹ Holy Qur'an: Sūrah of al-Anfāl Verse 32.

applicable to Shiite interpretation. As a general rule, the general sense of a Verse or a Ḥadīth must be preserved as much as possible. Hence, the defeats of the disbelievers in the Battle of Badr and al-Khandaq as well as the other sorts of punishments, such as the draught, starvations and humility during the conquest of Makkah, were parts of the chastisement.

Correspondingly, it is unnecessary to restrain the scope of the chastisement to the case of al-Naḍr or any other individual incident.

(5) NAṢĪBIS' OPINION ABOUT THE ḤADĪTH

Except Ibn Taymiyah and his fans, Naṣībīs have not refuted the narration. Muḥammad Rashīd Riḍā, in *Tafsīr al-Manār*, also imitates Ibn Taymiyah who attacked the narration coarsely and blundered blindly through it. Misusing the name of his master Shaykh Muḥammad 'Abduh, Rashīd Riḍā has been highly influenced by the ideas of Ibn Taymiyah and Ibn al-Qayyim.

As he, in 6/464, records the narration, he decides it as untrue for Sūrah of al-Ma'ārij was revealed in Makkah while the unbelievers who challenged a chastisement are mentioned in Sūrah of al-Anfāl, which was revealed after the Battle of Badr and many years before the revelation of Sūrah of al-Mā'idah. It seems that Rashīd Riḍā could find his intent through Ibn Taymiyah's criticism of the narration because its documentation has been too authentic to be refuted. The main point upon which Ibn Taymiyah and Riḍā depended in criticizing the narration is that the Holy Prophet did not return to Makkah after the Farewell Ḥajj and that al-Abṭuh, the place where the events of the narration took place, is situated in Makkah. Unintentionally or intentionally, they both neglected that there is in al-Madīnah a famous place also called al-Abṭuh. The other point they have used is that the Verse that rendered the unbelievers' challenge was revealed in al-Madīnah while Sūrah of Ma'ārij was revealed in Makkah. They have also ignored that the general sense of the first thirty-six Verses and the narration involved suppose and indicate that it was revealed

in al-Madīnah. Even if it was revealed in Makkah, there is no flaw if we admit that it was revealed more than once for more explication. Scholars have confirmed that Sūrah of al-Kawthar was revealed more than once. Furthermore, it is reasonless to refute the whole narration even if it is proved that the Verse was not revealed on that occasion. Finally, Sayyid al-Ṭabāṭabā'ī, in *Tafsīr al-Mizān* 6/54, has refuted all the points of criticism aroused by Rashīd Riḍā. Al-Amīnī, in *al-Ghadīr* 1/239, and al-Naqawī, in *'Abaqāt al-Anwār* 7-8, have also refuted the points of criticism of Ibn Taymiyah through decisive proofs and overwhelming facts. Yet, it seems suitable to add the following three points to the topic:

First: The narrations is neither baseless nor invented by the official narrators of the Qurayshite caliphate for it proves the divine ground of the Imāmate of Imām 'Alī and invalidates the authority of Abū-Bakr. In due course, it is very dangerous to claim that the narration and its likes were intruded by the Shī'ah in Sunni reference books of Ḥadīth for such a claim will devastate the entire structure of Sunni reference books of Ḥadīth as well as the Qurayshite caliphate. Finally, it was narrated by the same reporters depended by Sunni reference books.

Second: Matters that are admitted by both Sunnis and Shī'ah are more acceptable than others for one can believe a Ḥadīth narrated by both Sunni and Shiite books while it may be rather difficult to believe a Ḥadīth about which Muslim scholars have had opposing opinions.

Third: When the other qualities of the authenticity of a narration are present, the discrepancy about the first name of its star becomes unimportant for many endeavors must have been made to conceal his name that brought dishonor to his family.

In any event, we prefer that the man was Jābir ibn al-Naḍr ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Kildah al-'Abdarī, not al-Ḥārith ibn al-Nu'mān al-Fihri, for Abū-'Ubayd, whom is highly esteemed by Sunni scholars for his experience and knowledgeability, have recorded

this name in his *Tafsir*. Jābir was a famous Qurayshite personality; his father was the chief of Banū-`Abd al-Dār.

(6) WAYS OF NARRATION AND DOCUMENTATION

A. Ways of narration and documentation of Sunnī Reference Books

The first way is the narration of Abū-`Ubayd in *Gharīb al-Qur`ān* and the second way is the report of al-Tha`labī on the authority of Sufyān ibn `Uyaynah upon which (i.e. the report) many scholars have depended, such as Sayyid al-Mar`ashī, in *Iḥqāq al-Ḥaq* 6/358, al-Ḥamawīnī, in *Farā'id al-Simṭayn*, al-Zarnadī, in *Nuzum Durar al-Simṭayn* 93, Ibn al-Ṣabbāgh, in *al-Fuṣūl al-Muhimmah* 24, `Abd al-Raḥmān al-Ṣaffūrī, in *Nuzhat al-Majālis* 2/209, al-Qurtubī, in *Tafsir*, Sayyid Jamāl al-Dīn al-Shīrāzī, in *al-Arba`ūn Ḥadīth*, `Abdullāh al-Shāfi`ī, in *Al-Manāqib* 205, al-Qandūzī, in *Yanābī` al-Mawaddah* 247, al-Amrutsarī, in *Arjaḥ al Maṭālib* 568, `Abd al-Ra`ūf al-Mannāwī, in *Fayḍ al-Qadīr*, Muḥammad al-Qādirī, *Al-Sirāṭ al-sawī*, al-Ḥalabī, in *Insān al-Uyūn*, Aḥmad ibn al-Faḍl Bākthīr, in *Wasīlat al-Āmāl*, Muḥammad ibn Ismā`il al-Amīr, in *al-Rawḍah al-Nadiyyah* and Muḥammad ibn Yūsuf al-Kanjī, in *Kifāyat al-Ṭālib*.

B. Al-Ḥasakānī's two ways from Sufyān ibn `Uyaynah

In *Shawāhid al-Tanzīl* 2/381, he records the following:

It has been narrated to the authority of Abū-`Abdullāh al-Shīrāzī on the authority of Abū-Bakr al-Jarjara`ī on the authority of Abū-Aḥmad al-Baṣrī on the authority of Muḥammad ibn Sahl on the authority of Zayd ibn Ismā`il on the authority of Muḥammad ibn Ayyūb on the authority of Sufyān ibn `Uyaynah on the authority of Ja`far ibn Muḥammad on the authority of His father on the authority of `Alī... etc.

It has been narrated on the authority of Abū-Bakr al-Subay`ī on the authority of Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad ibn Naṣr Abu Ja`far al-Dab`ī on the authority of Zayd ibn

Ismā'il ibn Sinān on the authority of Shurayḥ ibn al-Nu'mān on the authority of Sufyān ibn 'Uyaynah on the authority of Ja'far ibn Muḥammad on the authority of His father on the authority of 'Alī... etc.

C. Al-Ḥasakānī's Report from Jābir al-Ju'fī

In *Shawāhid al-Tanzīl* 2/381, he records the following:

It has been narrated on the authority of Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Kūfī on the authority of Naṣr ibn Muzāḥim on the authority of 'Amr ibn Shamr on the authority of Jābir al-Ju'fī on the authority of Muḥammad ibn 'Alī... etc. Similar narrations have been reported from Ḥudhayfah, Sa'd ibn Abī-Waqqāṣ, Abū-Hurayrah and Ibn 'Abbās.

D. Al-Ḥasakānī's Report from Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamān

In *Shawāhid al-Tanzīl* 2/381, he records the following:

It has been narrated from Abū'l-Ḥasan al-Fāsī on the authority of Abū'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad ibn Ismā'il al-Ḥasanī on the authority of 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥasan al-Asadī on the authority of Ibrāhīm; and it has been narrated from Abū-Bakr Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Baghdādī on the authority of Abū-Muḥammad 'Abdullāh ibn Aḥmad ibn Ja'far al-Shaybānī on the authority of 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥasan al-Asadī on the authority of Ibrāhīm ibn al-Ḥasan al-Kisā'ī on the authority of al-Faḍl ibn Dikkīn on the authority of Sufyān ibn Sa'id on the authority of Mansūr on the authority of Rab'ī on the authority of Ḥudhayfah ibn al-Yamān... etc.

E. Al-Ḥasakānī's Report from Abū-Hurayrah

In *Shawāhid al-Tanzīl* 2/381, he records the following:

It has been narrated from 'Uthmān on the authority of Furāt ibn Ibrāhīm al-Kūfī on the authority of al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn Muṣ'ab al-Bujalī on the authority of Abū-'Imārah Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Mahdī on the

authority of Muḥammad ibn Abī-Mi'shar al-Madanī on the authority of Sa'id ibn Abī-Sa'id al-Miqbarī on the authority of Abū-Hurayrah... etc.

SHIITE REPORTS FROM SUFYĀN IBN 'UYAYNAH

A. Furāt's Reports

Furāt ibn Ibrāhīm al-Kūfī, in *Tafsīr* 505, has recorded the following:

It has been narrated from Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn Ḍabyān on the authority of al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad al-Khārifī that he asked Sufyān ibn 'Uyaynah... etc.

B. Muḥammad ibn al-'Abbās's Reports

In *Ta'wil al-Āyāt* 2/722, the following is recorded:

Muḥammad ibn al-'Abbās has narrated on the authority of 'Alī ibn Muḥammad ibn Mukhallad on the authority of al-Ḥasan ibn al-Qāsim on the authority of 'Umar ibn al-Aḥsan on the authority of Adam ibn Ḥammād on the authority of Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad that he asked Sufyān ibn 'Uyaynah... etc.

C. Sharīf al-Murtaḍā's Reports

The following is quoted from *Madīnat al-Ma'ājiz* 1/407:

Sharīf al-Murtaḍā, in *'Uyūn al-Mu'jizāt*, has recorded that Abū-'Abdullāh Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad has narrated on the authority of his father on the authority of 'Alī ibn Farrūkh al-Sammān on the authority of Yaḥyā ibn Zakariyyā al-Minqarī on the authority of Sufyān ibn 'Uyaynah on the authority of 'Umar ibn Abī-Sulaym al-'Īsā on the authority of Ja'far ibn Muḥammad al-Ṣādiq on the authority of his father... etc.

D. Muntajab al-Dīn al-Rāzī's Reports

The following is quoted from *al-Arba'ūn Ḥadīth* 82:

It has been narrated from Abu'l-'Alā' Zayd ibn 'Alī ibn Manṣūr al-Adīb and Sayyid Abū-Turāb al-Murtaḍā ibn al-Dā'i ibn al-Qāsim al-Ḥasanī on the authority of 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Aḥmad on the authority of Muḥammad ibn Zayd ibn 'Alī al-Ṭabarī Abū-Ṭālib ibn Abī-Shujā' al-Buraydī on the authority of Abu'l-Ḥusayn Zayd ibn Ismā'il al-Ḥasanī on the authority of Sayyid Abu'l-'Abbās Aḥmad ibn Ibrāhīm al-Ḥasanī on the authority of 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn al-Ḥasan al-Khāqānī on the authority of 'Abbās ibn 'Īsā on the authority of al-Ḥasan ibn 'Abd al-Wāhid al-Khazzāz on the authority of al-Ḥasan ibn 'Alī al-Nakh'i on the authority of Rūmī ibn Ḥammād al-Makhāriqī that he asked Sufyān ibn 'Uyaynah... etc.

E. Al-Ṭabraqī's Reports

The following is quoted from *Tafsīr al-Mizān* 6/58:

It has been recorded in *Majma' al-Bayān*¹ that Sayyid Abu'l-Ḥamd has narrated on the authority of al-Ḥākim Abu'l-Qāsim al-Ḥasakānī on the authority of Abū-'Abdullāh al-Shirāzī on the authority of Abū-Bakr al-Jurjānī on the authority of Abū-Aḥmad al-Baṣrī on the authority of Muḥammad ibn Sahl on the authority of Zayd ibn Ismā'il on the authority of Muḥammad ibn Ayyūb al-Wāsiṭī on the authority of Sufyān ibn 'Uyaynah... etc.

SHIITE REPORTS FROM OTHER NARRATORS

A. Al-Kulaynī's Reports

The following is quoted from *al-Kāfi* 1/422:

It has been narrated on the authority of 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm on the authority of Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad on the authority of Muḥammad ibn Khālid on the authority of Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān on the authority of his father on the authority of Abū-Baṣīr on the authority of Imām al-Ṣādiq... etc.

¹ By Shaykh al-Ṭabraqī.

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The following is also quoted from *al-Kāfi* 8/75:

It has been narrated from a number of our companions on the authority of Sahl ibn Ziyād on the authority of Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān on the authority of his father on the authority of Abū-Baṣīr... etc.

B. Furāt al-Kūfī's Reports

The following is quoted from Furāt's *Tafsīr* 503:

Al-Ḥusayn ibn Muḥammad ibn Muṣ'ab al-Bujalī on the authority of Abū-'Imārah Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Muhtadī on the authority of Muḥammad ibn Mi'shar al-Madanī on the authority of Sa'id ibn Abī-Sa'id al-Miqbarī on the authority of Abū-Hurayrah... etc.

Ja'far ibn Muḥammad ibn Bishrawayh al-Qaṭṭān has narrated on the authority of al-Awzā'ī on the authority of Ṣa'sa'ah ibn Ṣawhān and al-Aḥnaf ibn Qays on the authority of Ibn 'Abbās... etc.

Abū-Aḥmad Yahyā ibn 'Ubayd ibn al-Qāsim al-Qizwīnī on the authority of Sa'd ibn Abī-Waqqāṣ... etc.

C. Muḥammad ibn al-'Abbās's report

The following is quoted from *Ta'wīl al-Āyāt* 2/722:

Aḥmad ibn al-Qāsim has narrated to us on the authority of Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad al-Sayyārī on the authority of Muḥammad ibn Khālīd on the authority of Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān on the authority of his father on the authority of Abū-Baṣīr on the authority of Imām al-Ṣādiq... etc.

Muḥammad al-Barqī has narrated on the authority of Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān on the authority of his father on the authority of Abū-Baṣīr that Imām al-Ṣādiq... etc.

D. Shaykh al-Ṣadūq's Reports

The following is quoted from *Bihār al-Anwār* 33/165:

'Alī ibn 'Abdullāh al-Ziyādī has narrated on the authority of Ja'far ibn Muḥammad al-Dūrīstī on the authority of his father on the authority of Shaykh al-Ṣadūq on the authority of his father on the authority of Sa'd on the authority of Muḥammad ibn al-Ḥusayn ibn Abu'l-Khattāb on the authority of his father on the authority of Muḥammad ibn Sinān on the authority of Zurārah on the authority of Imām al-Ṣādiq... etc.

E. Al-Baḥrānī's Reports

The following is quoted from *Madīnat al-Ma'ājiz* 2/267:

'Allāmah al-Ḥillī, in *al-Kashkūl*, has recorded on the authority of Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Raḥmān al-Bāwardī... etc.

F. Ibn Sahrāshūb's Report

The following is quoted from *Bihār al-Anwār* 31/320:

It has been recorded in Ibn Sahrāshūb's *al-Manāqib* on the authority of Abū-Baṣīr on the authority of Imām al-Ṣādiq... etc.

G. 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm Al-Qummī's Report

The following is quoted from 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm Al-Qummī's *Tafsīr* 2/385:

It has been narrated from Aḥmad ibn Idrīs on the authority of Muḥammad ibn 'Abdullāh on the authority of Muḥammad ibn 'Alī on the authority of 'Alī ibn Ḥassān on the authority of 'Abd al-Raḥmān ibn Kathīr that Imām al-Riḍā... etc.

The Narration is Authentic and the Divine Chastisement Was Repeated

Two results can be obtained from the numerous narrations that recorded the incidents of the stones from heaven inflicted upon those who objected against the leadership of Imām 'Alī (a.s).

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First, the narrations are qualified according to the criteria of the authenticity of Ḥadīth. It is thus illogic to accept the claims of the narrow-minded and the suspicious who allow themselves to say that the Shī`ah had fabricated such narrations because the very narrations are found in the major Sunni reference books of Ḥadīth. However, some Sunni extremists may claim that these narrations have been reported from the Holy Imāms (a.s). Our answer is that Sunni scholars have respected the Holy Imāms and depended upon their reports and knowledge and they have only objected to the narrations that are reported by Shiite ways of narration. Furthermore, the series of reporting the narrations involved do not include only Shiite narrators; al-Ḥasakānī, for instance, has report them to Ḥudhayfah and Abū-Hurayrah as well as many others.

Second, according to the various narrations reporting the incident, it is clear-cut that there were more than one incident because of the variety of names, sorts of punishment, places, times and events mentioned in the narrations.

(7) PEOPLE OF THE BEFALLING CHASTISEMENT

The Old Envy and the 'Blood Lick'

Societies of the Arab Peninsula were tribal and thus struggles, combats and tribal alliances were common among them. The Alliance of 'Fuḍūl' was the most famed in history. It was established by `Abd al-Muṭṭalib, the Holy Prophet's grandfather, and was also called the Alliance of Muṭayyibīn (People of Odor) because the parties swore alliance by immersing their hands in a vessel of odor made by the daughter of `Abd al-Muṭṭalib. The most important terms of that alliance was to protect the Holy Ka`bah, prohibit any sort of injustice and support the wronged until they recover their rights. The Holy Prophet was twenty years old when he partook in that alliance. Moreover, narrations have stated that he passed the alliance after Islam. In this regard, he said, 'I was boy when I

witnessed the Alliance of Muṭayyibīn with my uncles. I prefer it to having the best kinds of camels.’¹

The alliance was an answer for an opposite one established by Banū-`Abd al-Dār. Some Qurayshite tribes responded and partook in that alliance, which was called the ‘blood lick’ because its members swore alliance by licking the blood of a cow slaughtered on that occasion.

Different opinions have been stated about the reason and time of these alliances. Some narrators have mentioned that they were established during the building of the Holy Ka`bah when each tribe wanted to have the honor of putting the Black Stone in its place. The most acceptable narration in this regard is that recorded by al-Ya`qūbī who said that because Banū-`Abd al-Dār envied `Abd al-Muṭṭalib, they decided to conclude an alliance against him.²

Banū-`Abd al-Dār; the Standard-Bearers of the Polytheists

Historians have confirmed that Banū-`Abd al-Dār inherited Dār al-Nidwah and the Qurayshite standard of wars. Hence, they used to bear the standards during battles.³

Imām `Alī (a.s) killed more than ten individuals from the knights of Banū-`Abd al-Dār who raised the standard of the polytheists’ army against the Holy Prophet. Yet, other narrations have mentioned that some of them were killed by Ḥamzah ibn `Abd al-Muṭṭalib.⁴

¹ Aḥmad: *al-Musnad* 1/190 and al-Ḥākim: *al-Mustadrak* 2/220.

² Al-Ya`qūbī: *Tārīkh* 1/248 and 2/17 and Ibn Hushām: *al-Sīrah* 1/85.

³ Al-Balāthirī: *Fath al-Buldān* 60.

⁴ Ibn Hushām: *al-Sīrah* 3/587.

Banū- 'Abd al-Dār Give A Lesson in Self-Defense

Historians have recorded that 'the courageous knights' of Banū- 'Abd al-Dār taught people of Quraysh a peculiar lesson in self-defense against the Hāshimites taking advantage of their high morals. Ibn Kathīr, in *al-Sīrah* 3/39, quotes the following narration from Ibn Hushām:

In the gravest moments of the Battle of Uḥud, the Holy Prophet sat under Anṣār's standard and ordered 'Alī to march carrying the standard. 'Alī marched challenging the foes. The bearer of people of Quraysh's standard, Ṭalḥah ibn Abī-Ṭalḥah, accepted the challenge. As the two warriors stopped between the two armies, 'Alī stroke him so heavily that he fell to the ground. Suddenly, 'Alī left him and came back! 'Why did you not kill him?' Muslims asked 'Alī. 'He showed me his anus! I then realized that Almighty Allāh has actually killed him,' 'Alī answered. On the Battle of Siffin, Busr ibn Arṭa'ah did the same thing when 'Alī was about to kill him; hence, 'Alī left him out of his high morals. 'Amr ibn al-'Āṣ also showed his anus during the Battle of Siffin when 'Alī knocked him down and was about to kill him. 'Alī also left him. A poet recorded this strange incident... etc.

Al-Naḍr ibn al-Ḥārith; the Chief of Banū- 'Abd al-Dār

Ibn Hushām, in *al-Sīrah* 1/195, has recorded the following:

Al-Naḍr ibn al-Ḥārith was one of the Satanic enemies who used to harm the Holy Prophet. In al-Ḥīrah (Iraq), he learnt the tales of the Persian kings. Whenever the Holy Prophet sat to remind people of their Lord and warn against His punishment that befell the past nations, al-Naḍr came to the same place and recounted the tales of the Persian kings. He asked people to gather around him so that he would tell him stories better than the sayings of Muḥammad! He challenged the Holy Qur'ān and claimed that he would reveal the same thing that was revealed by Almighty Allāh. Ibn Ishāq has narrated on the authority of

Ibn `Abbās that eight Verses were revealed reproaching al-Naḍr and unveiling his fake claims.¹

Al-Naḍr was the representative of his clan in the wicked conference that people of Quraysh held for conspiring with each other against the Holy Prophet.² He was selected as their courier to the Jews seeking their advice in the issue of the Holy Prophet.³ He participated in recording the First Accursed Document against the Hashimites.⁴ He served food to the warriors who fought against the Holy Prophet during the Battle of Badr.⁵ He finally was killed during that battle at the hands of Imām `Alī.⁶

Al-Nuḍayr; al-Naḍr's Brother and Successor

Reference books of history have stated that other individuals from Banū-`Abd al-Dār bore the standard of people of Quraysh after al-Naḍr. Yet, it has not been mentioned whether al-Nuḍayr succeeded his brother in bearing the standard and became the chief of Banū-`Abd al-Dār was warrior or not. The fans of Quraysh have described him as shrewd man whom the Holy Prophet gave one hundred camels from the spoils of the Battle of Ḥunayn just like the other chiefs of Quraysh so as to make them accept Islām.⁷

¹ Also, *al-Sīrah* 1/239, al-Suyūṭī: *al-Durr al-Manthūr* 3/181, 5/297 and 6/263 and al-Suyūṭī: *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn* 540.

² Ibn Hushām: *al-Sīrah* 1/191 and 2/331 and Al-Ṭabarī: *Tārīkh* 2/98.

³ Ibn Hushām: *al-Sīrah* 1/195 and Ibn Sayyid al-Nās: *Uyūn al-Athar* 1/142.

⁴ Ibn Hushām: *al-Sīrah* 1/234 al-Ya`qūbī: *Tārīkh* 2/31.

⁵ Ibn Hushām: *al-Sīrah* 2/488 and al-Ṭabarī: *Tārīkh* 2/142.

⁶ Ibn Hushām: *al-Sīrah* 2/206-7, al-Ṭabarī's *Tārīkh* 2/157 and 286 and Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī: *Mu`jam al-Buldān* 1/94.

⁷ Al-Ṭabarī: *Tārīkh* 2/358, Ibn Hushām: *al-Sīrah* 4/ 929, Ibn Kathīr: 3/682 and al-Ya`qūbī: *Tārīkh*.

VERSES OF GHADĪR

Many narrations have confirmed that al-Nuḍayr was one of the Qurayshite chiefs who plotted for assassinating the Holy Prophet during the Battle of Ḥunayn.

As usual, the Pro-Quraysh narrators have made al-Nuḍayr one of the Muslim celebrities who immigrated to al-Madīnah and was martyred during the Battle of Yarmūk! Likewise, they have changed all the Qurayshite people whom were plagued into martyrs in the Battle of Yarmūk.¹

Shiite reference books of Ḥadīth have reported a strange disputation made by al-Naḍr ibn al-Ḥārith al-Fihri with the Holy Prophet in al-Madīnah. It seems that it was al-Nuḍayr, not al-Naḍr, who disputed the Holy Prophet in al-Madīnah after the Farewell Ḥajj.²

Ibn Hushām³ has stated that al-Nuḍayr is called also al-Ḥārith, and al-Ya`qūbī⁴ has misnamed him al-Ḥārith ibn al-Ḥārith ibn Kildah. Accordingly, it is probable that they had a third brother named al-Ḥārith. This might have been the very person whom was cast by a heavenly thunderbolt or stone because he objected to the Holy Prophet's declaration of the leadership of Imām `Alī. In due course, the befalling chastisement was inflicted upon three individuals from this family—the father, during the Battle of Badr, Jābir and al-Ḥārith. Hence, they should be called the family of the befalling chastisement.

At any rate, the most ascertained matter is that a man objected to the Holy Prophet and a stone from heaven was inflicted upon him; and that man, according to al-Tha`labī, in *Tafsīr*, and many Shiite reference books of Ḥadīth, was al-Ḥārith ibn al-Nu`mān al-Fihri. Al-Ḥasakānī, Shaykh al-Kulaynī and Ibn Shahrāshūb have also referred to this name.

¹ Al-Sam`ānī: *al-Ansāb* 3/110 and *Ikmāl al-Kamāl* 1/327.

² Al-Bahrānī: *Madīnat aul Maajiz*; 2/267

³ Ibn Hushām: *al-Sīrah* 2/488.

⁴ Al-Ya`qūbī: *Tārīkh* 2/63.

This proves that al-Ḥārith upon whom the heavenly stone was inflicted is different from the son of `Abd al-Dār and that another heavenly stone was inflicted upon Jābir ibn al-Nadr al-`Abdarī.

THE TWO MOST LICENTIOUS OF QURAYSH

Reference books of Ḥadīth have confirmed that the most evil Qurayshite tribes that harmed the Holy Prophet were Banū-Umayyah and Banu'l-Mughīrah to whom Abū-Jahl ibn Makhzūm belonged. They are described as the two most licentious. We should add Banū-`Abd al-Dār to them.

Al-Suyūṭī, in *al-Durr al-Manthūr* 4/85, has recorded on the authority of al-Bukhārī, in *Tārīkh*, on the authority of Ibn Jarīr, Ibn al-Mundhir, ibn Mardawayh that `Umar ibn al-Al-Khaṭṭāb said, "Regarding Almighty Allāh's saying, 'Have you not seen those who have changed Allāh's favor for ungratefulness,' these are the two most licentious houses of Quraysh—sons of Umayyah and sons of al-Mughīrah. Concerning the latter, you have completed with them on the Battle of Badr and as to sons of Umayyah, they are respited for a term."

This statement seems to be said by the Holy Prophet and repeated by `Umar who must thus be asked why he appointed Mu`āwiyah as the governor of Syria and allowed him to behave as he liked and why he arranged the matter of caliphate in a way enabling `Uthmān to be the caliph and, consequently, the Islāmic State was completely prevailed by the most licentious house of Quraysh!



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- Al-Farāhīdī, al-Khalīl (died in AH 175): *al-ʿAyn* (Arabic-Arabic Dictionary)
- Al-Haythamī, ibn Hajar: *Al-Ṣawāʿiq al-Muhriqah*
- Al-Haythamī, Nūr al-Dīn (died in AH 807): *Majmaʿ al-Zawāʿid*
- Al-Hindī, al-Muttaqī (died in AH 975): *Kanz al-ʿUmmāl*
- Al-Ihsāʿī, ibn Abī-Jumhīr: *Ghawāli al-Laʿālī*
- Al-Iṣfahānī, al-Rāghib (died in AH 425): *Muhāḍarāt al-Udabāʿ*
- Al-Jawharī (died in AH 393): *al-Ṣiḥāḥ*
- Al-Jawzī (died in AH 654): *Tadhkirat al-Khawāṣṣ*
- Al-Kūfī, Muḥammad ibn Sulaymān (died in AH 270): *Manāqib ʿAmlr al-Muʿminīn*
- Al-Kūrānī, ʿAlī: *Muʿjam Ahādīth al-Imām al-Mahdī*
- Al-Kulaynī, Muḥammad ibn Yaʿqūb (died in AH 329): *Al-Kāfī*
- Al-Mālikī, Ibn al-ʿArabī (died in AH 543): *ʿArīḍat al-Aḥwadhī fī Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ al-Tirmidhī*
- Al-Mīlānī, Sayyid ʿAlī: *Nafaḥāt al-Azhār*
- Al-Maghribī (died in AH 273): *Sharḥ al-Akḥbār*
- Al-Maghribī, al-Nuʿmān (died in AH 363): *Daʿāʿim al-Islām*
- Al-Maghribī, Ibn al-Ṣiddīq (died in AH 1380): *Fath al-Malik al-ʿAlī*
- Al-Majlisi (died in AH 1111): *Bihār al-Anwār*
- Al-Makkī, Saʿīd ibn Mansūr (died in AH 227): *al-Sunan*
- Al-Maqarī, Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad (died in AH 1041): *Nafḥ al-Ṭīb al-Tasamānī*
- Al-Marʿashī, Sayyid Nūrullāh al-Tustarī: *Iḥqāq al-Ḥaqq*
- Al-Masʿūdī, ʿAlī ibn Al-Ḥusayn (died in AH 346): *Murūj al-Dhahab*
- Al-Mazzī, Yūsuf (died in AH 742): *Tahdhīb al-Kamāl*
- Al-Mufīd, Muḥammad ibn al-Nuʿmān (died in AH 413): *al-Muqannaʿah*

- Al-Mundhirī (died in AH 656): *al-Targhīb wa 'l-Tarhib*
- Al-Murāghī (died in AH 1370): *Tafsīr*
- Al-Nūri, (died in AH 1320): *Mustadrak al-Wasā'il*
- Al-Nassā'ī, Aḥmad ibn Shu'ayb (died in AH 203): *al-Sunan*
- Al-Nawawī (died in AH 676): *Sharḥ Ṣaḥīḥ Muslim*
- Al-Nawawī, Muḥyi'l-Dīn Sharaf (died in AH 676): *Al-Mabsūṭ*
- Al-Nisāpūrī, 'Alī ibn Aḥmad al-Wāqidī (died in AH 468): *al-Tafsīr al-Wasīṭ*
- Al-Nisāpūrī, al-Hākim (died in AH 405): *al-Mustadrak 'Ala'l-Ṣaḥīḥayn*
- Al-Nisāpūrī, al-Faḍl ibn Shādhān al-Azdī (died in AH 260): *Al-Īdāḥ*
- Al-Nisāpūrī, Al-Fattāl (died in AH 508): *Rawḍat al-Wā'idīn*
- Al-Nisāpūrī, Muslim ibn al-Ḥajjāj (died in AH 261): *al-Ṣaḥīḥ*
- Al-Nu'mānī, Muḥammad ibn Ibrāhīm (died in AH 380): *al-Ghaybah*
- Al-Numayrī, 'Umar ibn Shaybah (died in AH 262): *Tārīkh al-Madīnah al-Munawwarah*
- Al-Nuwayrī, Aḥmad ibn 'Abd al-Wahhāb (died in AH 733): *Nihāyat al-Arab*
- Al-Qaṣṭalānī, Shihāb al-Dīn Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad (died in AH 923): *Irshād al-Sārī*
- Al-Qizwīnī, ibn Mājah (died in AH 275): *al-Sunan*
- Al-Qummī, 'Alī ibn Ibrāhīm (died in AH 329): *Tafsīr*
- Al-Qummī, al-Hasan al-Ṣaffār: *Baṣā'ir al-Darajāt*
- Al-Qummī, al-Khazzāz (died in AH 400): *Kifāyat al-Athar*
- Al-Qummī, ibn Bābawayh (died in AH 329): *Al-Imāmah wa'l-Tabṣīrah*
- Al-Qurtubī (died in AH 671): *Tafsīr*
- Al-Rāzī, 'Abd al-Raḥmān (died in AH 256): *al-Jarḥ wa 'l-Ta'dīl*
- Al-Sabkī, 'Abd al-Wahhāb (died in AH 771): *Ṭabaqāt al-Shāfi'iyyah al-Kubrā*
- Al-Sajistānī, Sulaymān ibn al-Ash'ath (died in AH 275): *al-Sunan*

Al-Sakhāwī (died in AH 902): *al-Tuhfah al-Laṭīfah*

Al-Salamī, Muḥammad ibn `Ayyāsh (died in AH 310): *Tafsīr*

Al-Sarakhsī, Shams al-Dīn (died in AH 483): *al-Mabsūṭ*

Al-Shāfi`ī, Muḥammad ibn Idrīs (died in AH 204): *Kitāb al-Umm*

Al-Shabalnajā, Mu`min ibn Ḥasan: *Nūr al-Abṣār*

Al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (died in AH 436): *al-Amāli*

Al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (died in AH 436): *al-Intiṣār*

Al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (died in AH 436): *al-Rasā`il*

Al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (died in AH 436): *al-Shāfi*

Al-Sharīf al-Murtaḍā (died in AH 436): *Tanzīh al-Anbiyā`*

Al-Shawkānī (died in AH 1250): *Fath al-Qadīr*

Al-Suhaylī (died in AH 581): *al-Rawḍ al-Anīf*

Al-Suyūṭī - al-Muhallā: *Tafsīr al-Jalālayn*

Al-Suyūṭī (died in AH 911): *al-Itqān fī `Ulūm al-Qur`ān*

Al-Suyūṭī (died in AH 911): *Asbāb al-Nuzūl*

Al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn (died in AH 911): *al-Durr al-Manthūr*

Al-Suyūṭī, Jalāl al-Dīn (died in AH 911): *Tārikh al-Khulafā`*

Al-Tamīmī, Muḥammad ibn Ḥabbān (died in AH 354): *al-Majrūhīn*

Al-Tha`labī: (died in AH 875): *al-Jawāhir al-Ḥisān*

Al-Tirmidhī, Muḥammad ibn `Īsā (died in AH 279): *al-Sunan*

Al-Ya`qūbī, Aḥmad ibn Wāḍih (died in AH 284): *Tārikh*

Al-Zamakhsharī, Jādullāh (died in AH 528): *Tafsīr al-Kashshāf*

Al-Zubaydī, Sayyid Muḥammad (died in AH 1205): *Tāj al-`Arūs fī Sharḥ al-Qāmūs*

Ayyūb, Sa`id (died in AH 1418): *Ma`ālim al-Fitan*

Furāt ibn Ibrāhīm (died in AH 300): *Tafsīr*

Ibn Ḥajar (died in AH 852): *Fath al-Bārī fī Sharḥ al-Bukhārī*

Ibn Abū-Shaybah (died in AH 235): *al-Muṣannaf*

Ibn Abi'l-Ḥadīd: *Sharḥ Nahj al-Balāghah*

Ibn al-Athīr (died in AH 630): *al-Kāmil fī 'l-Tārīkh*
Ibn al-Athīr (died in AH 630): *Usd al-Ghābah*
Ibn al-Athīr: *al-Bidāyah wa 'l-Nihayah*
Ibn Jazī (died in AH 741): *al-Tashīl Ilā 'Ulūm al-Tanzīl*
Ibn Khuldūn, 'Abd al-Raḥmān (died in AH 808): *Tārīkh*
Ibn Mākūlā (died in AH 475): *Ikmāl al-Kamāl*
Ibn Mandūr (died in AH 711): *Mukhtaṣar Tārīkh Dimashq*
Ibn Qudāmāh, 'Abdullāh (died in AH 620): *al-Mughnī*
Ibn Sa'd (died in AH 230): *Al-Ṭabaqāt*
Ibn Sayyid al-Nās (died in AH 734): *'Uyūn al-Athar*
Ibn Shahrāshīb (died in AH 588): *al-Manāqib*
Ibn Wāqīd, Muḥammad ibn 'Umar (died in AH 207): *al-Maghāzī*
Imām 'Alī, *Nahj al-Balāghah*
Mālik ibn Anas (died in AH 179): *al-Muwatta'*
Muḥammad 'Abduh – Rashīd Ridā: *Tafsīr al-Manār*
Muntajab al-Dīn ibn Bābawayh: *al-Arba'ūn Ḥadīth*